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THE

RELIGION

OF THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

By THOMAS CLARKSON.

BOSTON:
S. G. JONES & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS.
1876.

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ERRATA.

Page 93. Foot note. For Malachi i : 10, read Acts ix : 15.
" 94. " " " 30, 31, 32, read 20, 21.
" 95. For foot note *, see page 93; for foot note † read foot note * on page 94.

PREFACE.

Under a profound conviction of the vital importance of the principles herein set forth, and with an earnest desire that they may be more fully appreciated and maintained by members of our Religious Society, it has been deemed advisable by the Trustees of the "Obadiah Brown Benevolent Fund" to republish in a form convenient for circulation, the following pages from the elaborate treatise entitled "A Portraiture of Quakerism," by the author of the "History of the Slave-Trade," and the "Memoirs of William Penn."

Of Thomas Clarkson, the writer, so widely known by his successful labors for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade, it is, perhaps, safe to say that no man, not a member of the Society of Friends, ever enjoyed more ample opportunities for a thorough comprehension of its principles and practice. During a long life, devoted to works of Christian benevolence, he was closely associated with members of our Religious Society, in whom he everywhere found his readiest and most reliable co-laborers. He was naturally led to trace the stream back to its fountain; to inquire into the faith which so manifested itself in works of practical righteousness. He had the faculty of seeing clearly and describing accurately the things seen; and his scrupulous truthfulness, patient and conscientious research, and, above all, his own deep religious experience, which, if outside of the Society whose faith he describes, was yet in close sympathy with it, fitted him in an especial manner for the task of delineating

the underlying principles of that Body and their outgrowth of practice.

As the result of a rare combination of intellectual and moral qualities, and a closer acquaintance than that of any other distinguished civilian of his time with the outward activities, and inward and spiritual life of its weightiest and worthiest members, his "Portraiture" has always been regarded by the Society, and by the world at large, as a delineation alike remarkable for ability and general accuracy.

The present is a time of religious interest and awakening; and it is believed that this pamphlet may be found useful in furnishing a satisfactory answer to honest inquiries as to the views of our Society, and in presenting the ground of our belief that its leading and distinctive principle, which finds a witness for itself in every heart, may yet come to be regarded by professors of other denominations, as the strongest position of our common faith, against the materialistic tendencies of the age in which we live.

THE RELIGION

OF THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

CHAPTER I.

The Almighty created the universe by means of his Spirit—and also man—He gave man, besides his intellect, an emanation from his own Spirit, thus making him in his own image—but this image he lost—a portion, however, of the same Spirit was continued to his posterity—These possessed it in different degrees—Abraham, Moses, and the prophets had more of it than some others—Jesus possessed it immeasurably, and without limit—Evangelists and apostles possessed it, but in a limited manner, and in different degrees.

THE Quakers believe, that, when the Almighty created the universe, he effected it by means of the life, or vital, or vivifying energy, that was in his own Spirit. "And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep, and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."

This life of the Spirit has been differently named, but is concisely styled by St. John, the evangelist, the Word; for he says, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made, that was made."

The Almighty, also, by means of the same divine energy, or life of the Spirit, which has thus created the universe, became the cause of material life and of vital functions. He called forth all animated nature into existence, for he "made the living creature after his kind."

He created Man, also, by the same power. He made his corporeal and organic nature. He furnished him also with intellect, or a mental understanding. By this latter gift he gave to Man, what he had not given to other animated nature, the power of reason, by which he had the superiority over it, and by means of which he was enabled to guide himself in his temporal concerns.

But he gave to Man at the same time, independently of this intellect or understanding, a spiritual faculty, or a portion of the life of his own Spirit, to reside in him. This gift occasioned Man to become more immediately, as is expressed, the image of the Almighty. It set him above the animal and rational part of his nature. It made him know things not intelligible solely by his reason. It made him spiritually-minded. It enabled him to know his duty to God, and to hold a heavenly intercourse with his Maker.

Adam, then, the first man, independently of his rational faculties, received from the Almighty into his own breast, such an emanation from the life of his own Spirit, as was sufficient to have enabled

him both to hold, and to have continued, a spiritual intercourse with his Maker, and to have preserved him in the state of innocence in which he had been created. As long as he lived in this divine light of the Spirit, he remained in the image of God, and was perfectly happy; but, not attending faithfully and perseveringly to this, his spiritual monitor, he fell into the snares of Satan, or gave way to the temptations of sin. From this moment his condition became changed. For in the same manner as distemper occasions animal life to droop, and to lose its powers, and finally to cease, so unrighteousness, or his rebellion against this divine light of the Spirit that was within him, occasioned a dissolution of his spiritual feelings and perceptions; for he became dead, as it were, in consequence, as to any knowledge of God, or enjoyment of his presence.*

It pleased the Almighty, however, not wholly to abandon him in this wretched state, but he comforted him with the cheering promise, that the seed of the woman should, some time or other, completely subdue sin, or, to use the Scripture language, "Should bruise the serpent's head;" or, in other words, as sin was of a spiritual nature, so it could only be overcome by a spiritual conqueror: and,

* It was said, that in the day in which Adam eat the forbidden fruit he should die; but he did not lose his animal life, or his rational nature. His loss, therefore, is usually considered by the Quakers to have been a divine spiritual principle, which had been originally superadded to the rational and animal faculties.

therefore, that the same Holy Spirit, or Word, or Divine Principle of Light and Life, which had appeared in creation, should dwell so entirely, and without limit or measure, in the person or body of some one of his descendants, that sin should, by him, be entirely subdued.

As God, then, poured into Adam, the first man, a certain portion of his own Spirit, or gave him a certain portion of the divine Light, for the regulation of his spiritual conduct, and the power of heavenly intercourse with himself; so he did not entirely cease from bestowing his Spirit upon his posterity: or, in other words, he continued to them a portion of that Light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. Of the individuals, therefore, who succeeded Adam, all received a portion of this Light. Some, however, enjoyed larger portions of it than others, according as they attended to its influences, or according to the measure given them. Of those who possessed the greatest share of it, some were the ancient patriarchs, such as Noah and Abraham; and others were the ancient scriptural writers, such as Moses and the Prophets. The latter, again, experienced it in different measures or degrees; and in proportion as they had it, they delivered, more or less, those prophecies, which are usually considered as inspired truths, from a belief that many of them have been circumstantially completed.

At length, in the fullness of time, that is, when all things had been fulfilled, which were previously to take place, this divine Spirit, which had appeared in creation, or this divine Word, or Light, took flesh, (for, as St. John, the evangelist, says, "The Word was made flesh, and dwelled among us,)" and inhabited the body, "which had been prepared for it;" or, in other words, it inhabited the body of the person, Jesus; but with this difference, that, whereas only a portion of this divine Light or Spirit had been given to Adam, and afterwards to the prophets, it was given, without limit or measure, to the man Jesus.* "For he, whom God hath sent," says St. John, "speaketh the words of God; for God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto him." And St. Paul says,† "In him the fullness of the Godhead dwelled bodily." In him, therefore, the promise given to Adam was accomplished, "that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head;" for we see, in this case, a human body, weak and infirm, and subject to passions, possessed or occupied without limit or measure by the Spirit of God. But if the man, Jesus, had the full Spirit of God within him, he could not be otherwise than perfectly holy. And, if so, sin never could have entered, and must, therefore, as far as relates to him, have been entirely repelled. Thus he answered the prophetic character, which had been given him, in-

* John iii: 34. † Coloss. ii: 9.

dependently of his victory over sin by the sacrifice of himself, or by becoming afterwards a comforter to those in bondage, who should be willing to receive him.

After Jesus Christ, came the Evangelists and Apostles. Of the same Spirit, which he had possessed immeasurably, these had their several portions; and, though these latter were limited,‡ and differed in degree from one another, they were sufficient to enable them to do their duty to God and men, to enjoy the presence of the Almighty, and to promote the purposes designed by him in the propagation of the Gospel.

‡ 2 Cor. x: 13.

CHAPTER II.

Unless a man has a portion of the same spirit, which Jesus and the prophets and the apostles had, he can have no knowledge of God, or spiritual things — Doctrine of St. Paul on this subject — This confirms the history of the human and divine Spirit in man — these spirits distinct in their kind — This distinction further elucidated by a comparison between the faculties of men and brutes — Sentiments of Augustine — Luther — Calvin — Smith — Taylor — Cudworth.

The members of this community believe that there can be no spiritual knowledge of God, but through the medium of his Holy Spirit; or, in other words, that if men have not a portion of the same Spirit, which the holy men of old, and which the Evangelists and Apostles, and which Jesus himself had, they can have no true or vital religion.

In favor of this proposition, they usually quote those remarkable words of St. Paul,* "For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the Spirit of a man, which is in him? Even so the things of God, knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. Now we have received, not the Spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God." And again: "But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness to him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned."

By these expressions the Quakers conceive that

*1 Cor. ii: 11, &c.

the history of man, as explained in the last chapter, is confirmed, or that the Almighty not only gave to man reason, which was to assist him in his temporal, but, also, superadded a portion of his own Spirit, which was to assist him in his spiritual concerns. They conceive it, also, to be still further confirmed by other expressions of the same apostle. In his first letter to the Corinthians, he says,* "Know ye not, that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which ye have of God?" And in his letter to Timothy, he desires him† "to hold fast that good thing, which was committed to him, by means of the Holy Ghost, which dwelled in him." Now these expressions can only be accurate, on a supposition of the truth of the history of man, as explained in the former chapter. If this history be true, then they are considered as words of course: for, if there be a communication between the Supreme Being and his creature, Man, or, if the Almighty has afforded to man an emanation of his own Spirit, which is to act in his mortal body, for spiritual purposes, we may say with great consistency, that the divinity resides in him, or that his body is the temple of the Holy Spirit.

They conceive again, from these expressions of the Apostle, that these two principles in man are different from each other. They are mentioned under the distinct names of the Spirit of Man, and

* 1 Cor. vi: 19. † 2 Tim. i: 14.

of the Spirit of God. The former, they suppose to relate to the understanding; the latter, conjointly to the understanding and to the heart. The former can be brought into use at all times, if the body of a man be in health. The latter is not at his own disposal. Man must wait for its inspirations. Like the wind, it bloweth when it listeth. Man, also, when he feels this divine influence, feels that it is distinct from his reason. When it is gone, he feels the loss of it, though all his rational faculties be alive. "Those," says Alexander Arscott, "who have this experience, certainly know, that, as at times, in their silent retirements and humble waitings upon God, they receive an understanding of his will relating to their present duty, in such a clear light, as leaves no doubt or hesitation; so, at other times, when this is withdrawn from them, they are at a loss again, and see themselves as they really are, ignorant and destitute."

They understand again, by these expressions of the apostle, (which is the point insisted upon in this chapter) that human reason, or the spirit of man, which is within him, and the Divine Principle of Life and Light, which is the Spirit of God residing in his body, or temple, are so different in their powers, that the former cannot enter into the province of the latter. As water cannot penetrate the the same bodies which fire can, so neither can reason the same subjects, as the spiritual faculty.

The Quakers, however, do not deny that human reason is powerful within its own province. It may discover, in the beautiful structure of the universe, and in the harmony and fitness of all its parts, the hand of a great contriver. It may conclude upon attributes belonging to the same. It may see the fitness of virtue, and deduce from thence a speculative morality. They only say that it is incompetent to spiritual discernment. But, though they believe the two Spirits to be thus distinct in their powers, they believe them, I apprehend, to be so far connected in religion, that the Spirit of God can only act upon a reasonable being. Thus light, and the power of sight, are distinct things. Yet the power of sight is nothing without light, nor can light operate upon any other organ, than the eye, to produce vision.

This proposition may be further elucidated, by making a comparison between the powers of men, and those of the brute creation. An animal is compounded of body and instinct. If we were to endeavor to cultivate this instinct, we might make the animal tame and obedient. We might impress his sensitive powers, so that he might stop, or go forward, at our voice. We might bring him, in some instances, to an imitation of outward gestures, or sounds. But all the years of his life, and centuries of life in his progeny, would pass away, and we should never be able so to improve his instinct into

intellect, as to make him comprehend the affairs of a man. He would never understand the meaning of his goings in, or of his goings out, or of his pursuits in life, or of his progress in science. So, neither could any education, it is believed, so improve the reason of man into the divine principle of Light within him, as that he should understand spiritual things; for the things of God are only discernible by the Spirit of God.

This doctrine that there is no understanding of divine things, except through the medium of the divine principle, which dwells in the temple of man, was no particular notion of George Fox, or of the succeeding Quakers, though undoubtedly they have founded more upon it than other Christians. They, who had the earliest access to the writings of the evangelists and apostles, believed the proposition. All the ancient fathers of the church considered it as the corner-stone of the Christian fabric. The most celebrated of the Reformers held it in the same light. The divines, who followed these, adopted it as their creed, also; and by these it has been handed down to other Christian communities, and is retained as an essential doctrine, by the church of England, at the present day.

The Quakers adduce many authorities in behalf of this proposition; but the following may suffice:

"It is the inward master," says St. Augustine, "that teacheth. Where this inspiration is want-

ing, it is in vain that words from without are beaten in."

Luther says, "No man can rightly know God, unless he immediately receive it from his Holy Spirit; unless he find it by experience in himself: and in this experience, the Holy Spirit teacheth, as in his proper school; out of which school nothing is taught but mere talk."

Calvin, on Luke x: 21, says, "Here the natural wisdom of man is so puzzled, and is at such a loss, that the first step of profiting in the school of Christ is to give it up, or renounce it. For, by this natural wisdom, as by a veil before our eyes, we are hindered from attaining the mysteries of God, which are not revealed but unto babes and little ones. For neither do flesh and blood reveal, nor doth the natural man perceive, the things that are of the spirit. But the doctrine of God is rather foolishness to him, because it can only be spiritually judged. The assistance, therefore, of the Holy Spirit is, in this case, necessary; or, rather, his power alone is efficacious."

Dr. Smith observes, in his select discourses, "Besides the outward revelations of God's will to man, there is, also, an inward impression of it in their minds and spirits, which is in a more especial manner attributed to God. We cannot see divine things but in a divine light. God only, who is the true Light, and in whom there is no darkness at

all, can so shine out of himself upon our glossy understandings, as to beget in them a picture of himself, his own will and pleasure, and turn the soul (as the phrase is in Job), like wax or clay, to the seal of his own light and love. He, that made our souls in his own image and likeness, can easily find a way into them. The word, that God speaks, having found a way into the soul, imprints itself there as with the point of a diamond, and becomes (to borrow Plato's expression) 'a word written in the soul of the learner.' Men may teach the grammar and the rhetoric, but God teaches the divinity. Thus, it is God alone, that acquaints the soul with the truths of revelation."

The learned Jeremy Taylor, bishop of Down and Connor, speaks in a similar manner, in his sermon, *De Via Intelligentiæ*. "Now in this inquiry," says he, "I must take one thing for granted, which is, that every good man is taught of God. And, indeed, unless he teach us, we shall make but ill scholars ourselves, and worse guides to others. No man can know God, says Irenæus, except he be taught of God. If God teach us, then all is well: but if we do not learn wisdom at his feet, from whence should we have it? It can come from no other spring."

Again: "Those, who perfect holiness in the fear of God, have a degree of divine knowledge, more than we can discourse of, and more certain than

the demonstrations of geometry, brighter than the sun, and indeficient as the light of Heaven.—A good man is united to God. As flame touches flame, and combines into splendor and into glory, so is the spirit of a man united to Christ by the Spirit of God.—Our light, on the other hand, is like a candle. Every wind of doctrine blows it out, or expends the wax, and makes the light tremulous. But the lights of Heaven are fixed and bright, and shine forever."

Cudworth, in his "Intellectual System," is wholly of the same opinion. "All the books and writings which we converse with, they can but represent spiritual objects to our understandings, which, yet, we can never see in their own true figure, color, and proportion, until we have a divine light within to irradiate and shine upon them. Though there be never such excellent truths concerning Christ and his Gospel, set down in words and letters, yet they will be but unknown characters to us, until we have a living spirit within us, that can decipher them; until the same Spirit, by secret whispers in our hearts, do comment upon them, which did at first indite them. There be many that understand the Greek and Hebrew of the scripture, the original languages in which the text was written, that never understood the language of the Spirit."

CHAPTER III.

Neither can a man, unless he have a portion of the same Spirit, which Jesus and the apostles and the prophets had, know spiritually that the Scriptures are of divine authority, or spiritually understand them — Explanation of these tenets — Objection that these tenets set aside human reason — Reply of the Quakers — Observations of Luther — Calvin — Owen — Archbishop Usher — Archbishop Sandys — Milton — Bishop Taylor.

As a man cannot know spiritual things but through the medium of the Spirit of God, or unless he have a portion of the same Spirit, which Jesus and the prophets and the apostles had; so neither can he, unless he have a portion of the same Spirit, either spiritually know that the writings or sayings of these holy persons are of divine authority, or read, or understand them to the promotion of his spiritual interest.

These two tenets are but deductions from that in the former chapter, and may be thus explained:

A man, the Quakers say, may examine the holy scriptures, and may deduce their divine origin from the prophecies they contain, of which many have since been accomplished; from the superiority of their doctrines beyond those in any other book which is the work of man; from the miraculous preservation of them for so many ages; from the harmony of all their parts; and from many other circumstances, which might be mentioned. But this, after all, will be but an historical, literal, or

outward proof of their origin, resulting from his reason or his judgment. It will be no spiritual proof, having a spiritual influence on his heart; for this proof of the divine origin of the scriptures can only be had from the Spirit of God. Thus, when Paul* preached to several women by the river-side near Philippi, it is said of Lydia only, "The Lord opened her heart that she attended to the things that were spoken by Paul." The other women undoubtedly heard the Gospel of Paul with their outward ears: but it does not appear that their hearts were in such a spiritual state that they felt its divine authority; for it is not said of them, as of Lydia, that their hearts were opened to understand spiritually that this Gospel was of God. Again, when Jesus Christ preached to the Jews in the temple,† many believed on him; but others believed not, but were so enraged that they took up stones to cast at him. It appears that they all with their outward ears heard his doctrine, in which he particularly stated that he was from above; but they did not receive the truth of his origin in their hearts, because they were not in a state to receive that faith, which cometh from the Spirit of God. In the same manner persons may hear sermon after sermon, at the present day, but find no spiritual benefit in their hearts.

Again: A man, by comparing passages of Script-

* Acts xvi: 13. † John viii: 30, 45, 49.

ure with other passages, and by considering the use and acceptation of words in these, may arrive at a knowledge of their literal meaning. He may obtain, also, by perusing the scriptures, a knowledge of some of the attributes of God. He may discover a part of the plan of his providence. He may collect purer moral truths than from any other source. But no literal reading of the scriptures can give him that spiritual knowledge of divine things, which leads to eternal life. The scriptures, if literally read, will give him a literal or corresponding knowledge: but it is only the Spiritual Monitor within, who can apply them to his feelings; who can tell him, "Thou art the man. This is thy state. This is that which thou oughtest or oughtest not to have done;" so, that he sees spiritually (the Spirit of God bearing witness with his own spirit) that his own situation has been described. Indeed, if the scriptures were sufficient of themselves for this latter purpose, the Quakers say that the knowledge of spiritual things would consist in the knowledge of words. They, who were to get the most of the divine writings by heart, would know spiritually the most of divine truths. The man of the best understanding, or of the most cultivated mind, would be the best proficient in vital religion. But this is contrary to fact. For men of deep learning know, frequently, less of spiritual Christianity than those of the poor, who are scarce-

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ly able to read the scriptures. They contend, also, that if the scriptures were the most vitally understood by those of the most learning, then the dispensations of God would be partial, inasmuch as he would have excluded the poor from the highest enjoyment of which the nature of man is susceptible, and from the means of their eternal salvation.

These tenets, which are thus adopted by the Quakers, are considered by many of the moderns as objectionable, inasmuch as they make reason, at least in theology, a useless gift. The Quakers, however, contend, that they consider reason as one of the inestimable gifts of God. They value it highly in its proper province. They do not exclude it from religion. Men, by means of it, may correct literal errors in the scriptures; may restore texts; may refute doctrines inconsistent with the attributes of the Almighty. The apology of Robert Barclay, which is a chain of reasoning of this kind from the beginning to the end, is a proof that they do not undervalue the powers of the mind. But they dare not ascribe to human reason that power, which they believe to be exclusively vested in the spirit of God.

They say, moreover, that these tenets are neither new, nor peculiar to themselves as a society. They were the doctrines of the primitive fathers. They were the doctrines, also, of the Protestant Reformers. And, though many at the present day con-

sider that scripture, interpreted by reason, is the religion of Protestants, yet it was the general belief of these reformers, that the teaching of the Holy Spirit was necessary to the spiritual understanding of the scriptures, as well as to the spiritual establishment of their divine origin.

Luther observes, "It is not human reason or wisdom, nor the law of God, but the work of divine grace, freely bestowed upon me, that teacheth me and showeth me the Gospel. And this gift of God, I receive by faith alone.

"The scriptures are not to be understood, but by the same spirit by which they were written.

"No man sees one jot or title in the scriptures, unless he has the Spirit of God."

"Profane men," says Calvin, "desire to have it proved to them, by reason, that Moses and the prophets spake from God. And to such I answer, that the testimony of the Spirit exceeds all reason. For as God alone is a sufficient witness for himself in his Word, so will his Word not find credit in the hearts of men, until it is sealed by the inward testimony of his Spirit. It is, therefore, necessary that the same Spirit, which spake by the mouth of the prophets, enter into our hearts, to persuade us that they faithfully declared what was commanded them by God."

Again: "Unless we have this assurance, which is better and more valid than any judgment of man,

it will be in vain to go about to establish the authority of scripture, either by arguments, or the consent of the church: for, unless this foundation be laid, namely, that the certainty of its divine authority depends entirely upon the testimony of the Spirit, it remains in perpetual suspense."

Again: "The spirit of God, from whom the doctrine of the Gospel proceeds, is the only true interpreter to open it for us."

"Divines," says the learned Owen, "at the first Reformation, did generally resolve our faith of the divine authority of the scriptures into the testimony of the Holy Spirit;" in which belief he joins, himself, by stating, that "it is the work of the Holy Spirit to enable us to believe the scriptures to be the word of God."

In another place, he says, "Our divines have long since laid it down, that the only public, authentic, and infallible interpreter of the holy scriptures is the Author of them, from whose inspiration they receive all their truth, clearness and authority. This author is the Holy Spirit."

Archbishop Sandys, in one of his sermons preached before Queen Elizabeth, has the following observations:

"The outward reading of the Word, without the inward working of the spirit, is nothing. The precise Pharisees and the learned Scribes, read the scriptures over and over again. They not only

read them in books, but wore them on their garments. They were not only taught, but were able, themselves, to teach others. But because this heavenly Teacher had not instructed them, their understanding was darkened, and their knowledge was but vanity. They were ignorant, altogether, in that saving truth, which the prophet David was so desirous to learn. The mysteries of salvation were so hard to be conceived by the very apostles of Christ Jesus, that he was forced many times to rebuke them for their dullness; which, unless he had removed, by opening the eyes of their mind, they could never have attained to the knowledge of salvation in Christ Jesus. The ears of that woman, Lydia, would have been as close shut against the preaching of Paul, as any other's, if the finger of God had not touched and opened her heart. As many as learn, they are taught of God."

Archbishop Usher, in his "Sum and Substance of the Christian Religion," observes," that it is required that we have the Spirit of God, as well to open our eyes to see the light, as to seal up fully in our hearts, that truth which we see with our eyes. For the same Holy Spirit, that inspired the scripture, inclineth the hearts of God's children to believe what is revealed in them ; and inwardly assureth them, above all reasons and arguments, that these are the scriptures of God." And, further on in the same work, he says, "The Spirit of God

alone, is the certain interpreter of his Word, written by his Spirit; for no man knoweth the things of God, but the Spirit of God."

Our great Milton, also, gives us a similar opinion in the following words, which are taken from his "Paradise Lost:"

"—— But in their room—
Wolves shall succeed for teachers, grievous wolves."

"Who all the sacred mysteries of Heaven
To their own vile advantages shall turn,
Of lucre and ambition; and the truth
With superstition's and tradition's taint,
Left only in those written records pure,
Though *not but by the Spirit understood.*"

Of the same mind was the learned bishop Taylor, as we collect from his sermon, *De Via Intelligentiæ*. "For, although the scriptures," says he, "are written by the Spirit of God, yet they are written within and without. And, besides the light that shines upon the face of them, unless there be a Light shining within our hearts, unfolding the leaves, and interpreting the mysterious sense of the Spirit, convincing our consciences, and preaching to our hearts; to look for Christ in the leaves of the Gospel is to look for the living among the dead. There is a life in them, but that life is," according to St. Paul's expression, "hid with Christ in God; and, unless the Spirit of God first draw it, we shall never draw it forth."

Again: "Human learning brings excellent ministries towards this. It is admirably useful for the reproof of heresies, for the detection of fallacies, for the letter of the scripture, for collateral testimonies, for exterior advantages; but there is something beyond this, that human learning, without the addition of divine, can never reach. Moses was learned in all the learning of the Egyptians, and the holy men of God contemplated the glories of God in the admirable order, motion and influences of the heavens; but, besides all this, they were taught something far beyond these prettinesses. Pythagoras read Moses's books, and so did Plato; and yet, they became not proselytes of the religion, though they were the learned scholars of such a master."

CHAPTER IV.

The Spirit of God, which has been thus given to man in different degrees, was given to him as a spiritual teacher or guide in his spiritual concerns — It performs this office, the Quakers say, by internal monitions — Sentiments of Taylor — and of Monro — and, if encouraged, it teaches even by the external objects of the Creation — William Wordsworth.

THE members of this Society believe that the Spirit of God, which has been thus given to man in different degrees or measures, and without which it is impossible to know spiritual things, or even to understand the divine writings spiritually, or to be assured of their divine origin, was given to him, among other purposes, as a teacher of good and evil, or to serve him as a guide in his spiritual concerns. By this they mean, that, if any man will give himself up to the directions of the spiritual principle that resides within him, he will attain to a knowledge sufficient to enable him to discover the path of his duty both to God and his fellow-man.

That the Spirit of God was given to man as a spiritual instructor, the Quakers conceive to be plain from a number of passages, which are to be found in the sacred writings.

They say, in the first place, that this was the language of the holy men of old.* "I said," says Elihu, "Days should speak, and multitude of years should teach wisdom. But there is a spirit (or the

* Job xxxii: 7.

Spirit is) in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding." The Levites are found, also, making an acknowledgment to God,† that "He gave, also, their fore-fathers his good Spirit to instruct them." The Psalms of David are, also, full of the same language, such as of ‡"Show me thy ways, O Lord; lead me in the truth." "I know," says Jeremiah,§ "that the way of man is not in himself. It is not in man, that walketh, to direct his steps." The martyr, Stephen, acknowledges the teachings of the Spirit, both in his own time and in that of his ancestors. ‖"Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Spirit. As your fathers did, so do ye." The Quakers, also, conceive it to be a doctrine of the Gospel. Jesus, himself, said,** "No man can come to me except the Father, which hath sent me, draw him—It is written in the prophets, They shall all be taught of God." St. John says,†† "That was the true light (namely, the Word or Spirit) which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." St. Paul, also, in his first letter to the Corinthians, asserts‡‡ that the "manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal;" and, in his letter to Titus, he asserts the same thing§§, though in different words: "For the

† Nehemiah ix: 20.
‖ Acts vii: 51.
‡‡ 1 Cor. xii: 7.
‡ Psalm xxv: 4.
** John vi: 44, 45.
§§ Titus ii: 11.
§ Jeremiah x: 23.
†† John i: 9.

grace of God," says he, "which bringeth salvation, hath appeared unto all men."

The Spirit of God, which has thus been given to man as a spiritual guide, is considered by the Quakers as teaching him in various ways. It inspires him with good thoughts. It prompts him to good offices. It checks him in his way to evil. It reproves him while in the act of committing it.

The learned Jeremy Taylor was of the same opinion. "The spirit of Grace," says he, "is the spirit of wisdom, and teaches us by secret inspirations, by proper arguments, by actual persuasions, by personal applications, by effects and energies."

The office of the Spirit is, also, beautifully described by Munro, a divine of the established church, in his "Just Measures of the Pious Institutions of Youth." "The Holy Spirit," says he, "speaks inwardly and immediately to the soul. For God is a spirit. The soul is a spirit, and they converse with one another in the spirit, not by words, but by spiritual notices, which, however, are more intelligible than the most eloquent strains in the world. God makes himself to be heard by the soul, by inward motions, which it perceives and comprehends proportionably as it is voided and emptied of earthly ideas. And the more the faculties of the soul cease their own operations, so much the more sensible and intelligible are the motions of God to it. These immediate communications of God with the

souls of men, are denied and derided by a great many. But that the Father of spirits should have no converse with our spirits, but by the intervention only of outward and foreign objects, may justly seem strange, especially when we are so often told in holy scriptures, that we are the temples of the Holy Ghost, and that God dwelleth in all good men."

But this Spirit is considered by the society, not only as teaching by inward breathings, as it were, made immediately and directly upon the heart without the intervention of outward circumstances, but as making the material objects of the universe, and many of the occurrences of life, if it be properly attended to, subservient to the instruction of man; and as enlarging the sphere of his instruction in this manner, in proportion as it is received and encouraged. Thus, the man, who is attentive to these divine notices, sees the animal, the vegetable, and the planetary world with spiritual eyes. He cannot stir abroad, but he is taught in his own feelings, without any motion of his will, some lesson for his spiritual advantage; or he perceives so vitally some of the attributes of the divine Being, that he is called upon to offer some spiritual incense to his Maker. If the lamb frolic and gambol in his presence as he walks along, he may be made spiritually to see the beauty and happiness of innocence. If he find the stately oak laid prostrate by the

wind, he may be spiritually taught to discern the emptiness of human power; while the same spirit may teach him inwardly the advantage of humility, when he looks at the little hawthorn, which has survived the storm. When he sees the change and fall of the autumnal leaf, he may be spiritually admonished of his own change and dissolution, and of the necessity of a holy life. Thus, the Spirit of God may teach men by outward objects and occurrences in the world. But where this Spirit is away, or rather, where it is not attended to, no such lesson can be taught. Natural objects of themselves can excite only natural ideas; and the natural man, looking at them, can derive only natural pleasure, or draw natural conclusions from them. In looking at the sun, he may be pleased with its warmth, and anticipate its advantage to the vegetable world. In plucking and examining a flower, he may be struck with its beauty, its mechanism and its fragrant smell. In observing a butterfly, as it wings its way before him, he may smile at its short journeys from place to place, and admire the splendor upon its wings. But the beauty of creation is dead to him, as far as it depends upon connecting it spiritually with the character of God; for no spiritual impression can arise from any natural objects, so that these should be sanctified to him, but through the intervention of the Spirit of God.

William Wordsworth, in his instructive poems,

has described this teaching by external objects in consequence of impressions from a higher power, as differing from any teaching by books or by the human understanding, and as arising without any motion of the will of man, in so beautiful and simple a manner, that I cannot do otherwise than make an extract from them in this place. Lively as the poem is, to which I allude, I conceive it will not lower the dignity of the subject. It is called "Expostulation and Reply,"* and is as follows:

"Why, William, on that old gray stone,
Thus for the length of half a day —
Why, William, sit you thus alone,
And dream your time away?

"Where are your books? that light bequeath'd
To beings else forlorn and blind!
Up! Up! and drink the spirit breath'd
From dead men to their kind.

"You look round on your mother, Earth,
As if she for no purpose bore you,
As if you were her first-born birth,
And none had lived before you!

"One morning, thus, by Esthwaite Lake,
When life was sweet, I knew not why,
To me my good Friend Matthew spake,
And thus I made reply:—"

"The eye, it cannot choose but see,
We cannot bid the ear be still;
Our bodies feel, where'er they be,
Against or with our will.

*See Lyrical Ballads, vol. i: p. 1.

"Nor less I deem that there are Powers,
Which of themselves our minds impress,
That we can feed this mind of ours,
In a wise passiveness.

"Think you, mid all this mighty sum
Of things for ever speaking,
That nothing of itself will come,
But we must still be seeking?

"Then ask not wherefore here alone,
Conversing as I may,
I sit upon this old gray stone,
And dream my time away?"

CHAPTER V.

This Spirit was not only given to man as a teacher, but as a primary and infallible guide — Hence the Scriptures are a subordinate or a secondary guide — Quakers, however, do not undervalue them on this account — Their opinion concerning them.

The Spirit of God, which we have seen to be thus given to men as a spiritual teacher, and to act in the ways described, the Quakers usually distinguish by the epithets of Primary and Infallible. But they have made another distinction with respect to the character of this spirit; for they have pronounced it to be the only infallible guide to men in their spiritual concerns. From this latter declaration the reader will naturally conclude, that the scriptures, which are the outward teachers of men, must be viewed by the Society in a secondary light. This conclusion has indeed been adopted as a proposition in the Quaker theology; or, in other words, it is a doctrine of the Society, that the spirit of God is the primary and only infallible, and the scriptures but a subordinate or secondary, guide.

This proposition, the Quakers usually make out in the following manner :

It is, in the first place, admitted by all Christians, that the scriptures were given by inspiration; or that those, who originally wrote or delivered the several parts of them, gave them forth by means of that spirit, which was given to them by God.

Now, in the same manner as streams or rivulets of water are subordinate to the fountains which produce them, so these streams or rivulets of light must be subordinate to the great Light from whence they originally sprung. "We cannot," says Barclay, "call the scriptures the principal fountain of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the first adequate rule of faith and manners, because the principal fountain of truth must be the truth itself; that is, whose certainty and authority depend not upon another."

The scriptures are subordinate or secondary, again, in other points of view. First, because, though they are placed before us, we can only know or understand them, as has been before shown, by the testimony of the spirit. Secondly, because there is no virtue or power in them of themselves, but in the spirit from whence they came.

They are, again, but a secondary guide; because "that," says Barclay, "cannot be the only and principal guide, which doth not universally reach every individual that needeth it." But the scriptures do not reach deaf persons, nor children, nor idiots, nor an immense number of people, more than half the globe, who never yet saw or heard of them. These, therefore, if they are to be saved like others, must have a different or a more general rule to guide them, or be taught from another source.

They are only a secondary guide, again, for another reason. It is an acknowledged axiom among Christians, that the spirit of God is a perfect spirit, and that it can never err. But the scriptures are neither perfect of themselves as a collection, nor are they perfect in their verbal parts. Many of them have been lost. Concerning those which have survived, there have been great disputes. Certain parts of these, which one Christian council received in the early times of the church, were rejected as not canonical by another. "Now, what," says Barclay, "would become of Christians, if they had not received that spirit, and those spiritual senses, by which they know how to discover the true from the false? It is the privilege of Christ's sheep, indeed, that they hear his voice, and refuse that of the stranger; which privilege being taken away, we are left a prey to all manner of wolves." The scriptures, therefore, in consequence of the state in which they have come down to us, cannot, the Quakers say, be considered to be a guide as entirely perfect as the internal testimony of their great Author, the spirit of God.

But though the members of this Society have thought it right, in submitting their religious creed to the world, on this subject, to be so guarded in the wording of it as to make the distinction described, they are far from undervaluing the scriptures on that account. They believe, on the other

hand, whatever mutilations they may have suffered, they contain sufficient to guide men in belief and practice; and that all internal emotions, which are contrary to the declaration of these, are wholly inadmissible. "Moreover," says Barclay, "because the scriptures are commonly acknowledged by all to have been written by the dictates of the Holy Spirit, and that the errors, which may be supposed, by the injury of time, to have slipt in, are not such, but that there is a sufficiently clear testimony left to all the essentials of the Christian faith, we do look upon them as the only fit outward judge of controversies among Christians, and that, whatsoever doctrine is contrary to their testimony, may, therefore, justly be rejected as false."

The Quakers believe, also, that as God gave a portion of his spirit to man to assist him inwardly, so he gave the holy scriptures to assist him outwardly, in his spiritual concerns. Hence the latter, coming by inspiration, are the most precious of all the books that ever were written, and the best outward guide: and hence, the things contained in them ought to be read, and, as far as possible, fulfilled.

They believe, with the apostle Paul, that the scriptures are useful; so that "through patience and comfort of them, they may have hope; and, also, that they are profitable for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness:" that, in the same manner as land, highly prepared and dressed

by the husbandman, becomes fit for the reception and for the promotion of the growth of the seed that is to be placed in it, so the scriptures turn the attention of man towards God, and by means of the exhortations, reproofs, promises and threatenings, contained in them, prepare the mind for the reception and growth of the seed of the Holy Spirit.

They believe, again, that the same scriptures show more of the particulars of God's will with respect to man, and of the scheme of the Gospel dispensation, than any ordinary portion of his spirit, as usually given to man, would have enabled him to discover. They discover that the* "wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ;" that † "Jesus Christ was set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God;" that ‡ "he tasted death for every man;" that he was § "delivered for our offences, and raised again for our justification;" that ‖ "he is set down at the right hand of the throne of God," ** "and ever liveth to make intercession for us;" and that he is the substance of all the types and figures under the Levitical priesthood, †† being the end of the law for righteousness, to every one that believeth.

* Rom. vi : 23.
† Rom. iii : 25.
‡ Heb. ii : 9.
§ Rom. iv : 25.
‖ Heb. xii : 2
** Heb. vii : 25.
†† Rom. x : 4.

They believe, again, that, in consequence of these various revelations, as contained in the scriptures, they have inestimable advantages over the heathen nations, or over those, where the Gospel sun has never yet shone; and that, as their advantages are greater, so more will be required of them, or their condemnation will be greater, if they fail to attend to those things which are clearly revealed.

They maintain, again, that their discipline is founded on the rules of the Gospel; and that, in consequence of giving an interpretation, different from that of many others, to some of the expressions of Jesus Christ, by which they conceive they make his kingdom more pure and heavenly, they undergo persecutions from the world; so that they confirm their attachment to the scriptures, by the best of all credible testimonies — the seal of their own sufferings.

CHAPTER VI.

This Spirit of God which has been thus given to men as an infallible guide in their spiritual concerns, has been given them universally — to the Patriarchs and Israelites from the creation to the time of Moses — to the Israelites, or Jews, from Moses to Jesus Christ — to the Gentile world, from all antiquity to modern times — to all those who have ever heard the Gospel — and it continues its office to the latter, even at the present day.

The Quakers are of opinion, that the Spirit of God, of which a portion has been given to men, as a primary and infallible guide in their spiritual concerns, has been given them universally, or has been given to all of the human race, without any exception, for the same purpose.

This proposition of the Society, I shall divide, in order that the reader may see it more clearly, into four cases. The first of these will comprehend the patriarchs and the Israelites, from the creation to the time of Moses. The second, the Israelites, or Jews, from the time of Moses to the coming of Jesus Christ. The third, the Gentiles, or Heathens. And the fourth, all those who have heard of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, from the time of his own ministry, to the present day.

The first case includes a portion of time, of above two thousand years. Now, the Quakers believe, that, during all this time, men were generally enlightened as to their duty by the spirit of God; for there was no scripture, or written law of God,

during all this period. "It was about two thousand four hundred years," says Thomas Beaven, an approved writer among the Quakers, "after the creation of the world, before mankind had any external written law for the rule and conduct of their lives, so far as appears by either sacred or profane history; in all of which time, mankind, generally speaking, had only for their rule of faith and manners the external creation as a monitor to their outward senses, for evidence of the reality and certainty of the existence of the Supreme Being, and the internal impressions, God, by his divine spirit made upon the capacities and powers of their souls or inward man, and, perhaps, some of them oral traditions, delivered from father to son."

To the same point, Thomas Beaven quotes the ever memorable John Hales, who, in his "Golden Remains," writes in the following manner: "The love and favor, which it pleased God to bear our fathers, before the Law, so far prevailed with him, as that, without any books and writings, by familiar and friendly conversing with them, and communicating himself unto them, he made them receive and understand his laws; their inward conceits and intellectuals, being, after a wonderful manner, figured, as it were, and characterized by his spirit, so that they could not but see, and consent unto and confess the truth of them. Which way of manifesting his will, unto many other gracious privileges which

it had, above that which in after ages came in place of it, had this added, that it brought with it unto the man to whom it was made, a preservation against all doubt and hesitancy, and a full assurance, both who the Author was, and how far his intent and meaning reached. We, who are their offspring, ought, as St. Chrysostom tells us, so to have demeaned ourselves, that it might have been with us as it was with them; that we might have had no need of writing, no other teacher but the spirit, no other books but our hearts, no other means to have been taught the things of God."

That the spirit of God, as described by Thomas Beaven and the venerable John Hales, was the great instructor or enlightener of men, during the period we are speaking of, the Quakers believe, from what they conceive to be the sense of the holy scriptures on this subject. For, in the first place, they consider it as a position, deducible from the expressions of Moses, that the * "spirit of God had striven" with those of the antediluvian world. They believe, therefore, that it was this spirit (and because the means were adequate, and none more satisfactory to them can be assigned) which informed Cain, before any written law existed, and this, even, before the murder of his brother, that † "if he did well he should be accepted; but, if not, sin should lie at his door." The same spirit

* Genesis vi: 3. † Genesis iv: 7.

they conceive to have illuminated the mind of Seth, but, in a higher degree than, ordinarily, the mind of Enoch, for he is the first, of whom it is recorded that "he walked with God."* It is, also, considered by the members of this Society as having afforded a rule of conduct to those, who lived after the flood. Thus Joseph is described as saying, when there is no record of any verbal instruction from the Almighty on this subject, and at a time when there was no scripture or written law of God, "How, then, can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?"† It illuminated others, also, but in a greater or less degree, as before. Thus Noah became a preacher of righteousness. Thus Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, were favored with a greater measure of it, than others who lived in their own times.

From those times to the coming of Jesus Christ, which is the second of the cases in question, the same spirit, according to the Society, still continued its teachings, and this, notwithstanding the introduction of the Mosaic Law. For this law, which was engraved on tables of stone, did not set aside the law, that was engraven on the heart. It assisted first, outwardly, in turning men's minds to God; and secondly, in fitting them, as a schoolmaster, for attention to the internal impressions by the spirit. That the spirit of God was still the

* Genesis v: 24.

† Genesis xxxix: 9.—The traditionary Laws of Noah were in force at this time, but they only specified three offences between man and man.

great teacher, the Quakers conceive to be plain, for the sacred writings, from Moses to Malachi, affirm it for a part of the period now assigned; and for the rest, they offer as evidence, the reproof of the martyr, Stephen, and the sentences from the New Testament, quoted in the last chapter but one. And, in the same manner as this spirit had been given to some in a greater measure than to others, both before and after the Deluge, so they believe it to have been given more abundantly to Moses and the Prophets than to others of the same nation; for they believe that the Law in particular, and that the general writings of Moses and those of the Prophets, also, were of divine inspiration, or the productions of the spirit of God.

With respect to the Heathens, or Gentiles, which is the third case, they believe that God's Holy Spirit became a guide, also, to them, and furnished them, as it had done the Patriarchs and Jews, with a rule of practice. For even these, who had none of the advantages of scripture or of a written, divine law, believed, many of them, in God; such as Orpheus, Hesiod, Thales, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Cicero, and others. And of these it may be observed, that it was their general belief, as well as it was the belief of many others in those days, that there was a divine light or spirit in man, to enable him to direct himself aright.

Among the remnants, that have been preserved

of the sayings of Pythagoras, are the following, which relate to this subject: "Those things, which are agreeable to God, cannot be known, except a man hear God, himself."—Again: "But, having overcome these things, thou shalt know the cohabitation or dwelling together of the immortal God and mortal man. This work is Life. The work of God is Immortality and Life."

"The most excellent thing," says Timæus, "that the soul is awakened to, is her Guide or good Genius, but if she be rebellious to it, it will prove her Demon or Tormentor."

It was frequently said of Socrates, that he had the guide of his life within him, which it was told his father, Sophroniscus, would be of more worth to him than five hundred masters. He called it his good angel, or spirit; that it suggested to his mind what was good and virtuous, and inclined and disposed him to a strict and pious life; that it furnished him with divine knowledge, and impelled him very often to speak publicly to the people, sometimes in a way of severe reproof, at other times to information.

Plato says, "The Light and spirit of God are as wings to the soul, or as that which raiseth up the soul into a sensible communion with God above the world."

"I have," says Seneca, "a more clear and certain light, by which I may judge the truth from false-

hood. That, which belongs to the happiness of the soul, the Eternal Mind will direct to." Again: "It is a foolish thing for thee to wish for that which thou canst not obtain. God is near thee, and he is in thee. The good spirit sits or resides within us, the observer of our good and evil actions. As he is dealt with by us, he dealeth with us."

The Quakers produce these, and a multitude of other quotations, which it is not necessary to repeat, to show that the same spirit, which taught the Patriarchs, before the Law, and the Jews, after it, taught the Gentiles also. But this revelation by the spirit was not confined, in their opinion, to the Roman or Greek philosophers, or to those, who had greater pretensions than common, to human wisdom. They believe that, in consequence of the manifestation of it, no nation was ever discovered, among those of antiquity, to have been so wild or ignorant, as not to have acknowledged a Divinity, or as not to have known and established a difference between good and evil.

Cicero says, "There is no country so barbarous, no one of all men so savage, as that some apprehension of the Gods hath not tinctured his mind. That many, indeed," says he, "think corruptly of them must be admitted; but this is the effect of vicious custom. For all do believe that there is a divine Power and Nature."

Maximus Tyriensis, a Platonic philosopher, and

a man of considerable knowledge, observes, that "notwithstanding the great contention and variety of opinions, which have existed concerning the nature and essence of God, yet the law and reason of every country are harmonious in these respects; namely, that there is one God, the King and Father of all; and that the many are but the servants and co-rulers unto God; that in this the Greek and the barbarian, the islander and the inhabitant of the continent, the wise and the foolish, speak the same language. "Go," says he, "to the utmost bounds of the ocean, and you find God there. But if there have been," says he, "since the existence of time, two or three atheistical, vile, senseless individuals, whose eyes and ears deceive them, and who are maimed in their very souls, an irrational and barren species, as monstrous as a lion without courage, an ox without horns, or a bird without wings,—yet, out of these you will be able to understand something of God. For they know and confess him, whether they will or not."

Plutarch says, that "if a man were to travel through the world, he might possibly find cities without walls, without letters, without kings, without wealth, without schools, and without theatres; but a city without a temple, or that useth no worship, or no prayers, no one ever saw. And he believes a city may more easily be built without a foundation, or ground to set it on, than a commu-

nity of men have or keep a consistency without religion."

Of those nations, which were reputed wild and ignorant in ancient times, the Scythians may be brought, next to the Greeks and Romans, as an instance to elucidate the opinions of the Quakers still further on this subject. The speech of the Scythian ambassadors to Alexander the Great, as handed down to us by Quintus Curtius, has been often cited by writers, not only on account of its beauty and simplicity, but to show us the moral sentiments of the Scythians in those times. I shall make a few extracts from it on this occasion.

"Had the gods given thee," says one of the ambassadors to Alexander, "a body proportionable to thy ambition, the whole universe would have been too little for thee. With one hand thou wouldest touch the East, and with the other the West; and, not satisfied with this, thou wouldest follow the sun, and know where he hides himself.

"But what have we to do with thee? We never set foot in thy country. May not those, who inhabit woods, be allowed to live without knowing who thou art and whence thou comest? We will neither command nor submit to any man.

"But thou, who boastest thy coming to extirpate robbers, thou thyself art the greatest robber upon earth.

"Thou hast possessed thyself of Lydia, invaded

Syria, Persia, and Bactriana. Thou art forming a design to march as far as India; and thou now comest hither, to seize upon our herds of cattle. The great possessions thou hast, only make thee covet more eagerly what thou hast not.

"We are informed that the Greeks speak jestingly of our Scythian deserts, and that they are even become a proverb; but we are fonder of our solitudes than of thy great cities.

"If thou art a god, thou oughtest to do good to mortals, and not to deprive them of their possessions. If thou art a mere man, reflect on what thou art.

"Do not fancy that the Scythians will take an oath in their concluding of an alliance with thee. The only oath among them is to keep their word, without swearing. Such cautions as these do indeed become Greeks, who sign their treaties, and call upon the gods to witness them. But, with regard to us, our religion consists in being sincere, and in keeping the promises we have made. That man, who is not ashamed to break his word with men, is not ashamed of deceiving the gods."

To the account contained in these extracts, it may be added, that the Scythians are described by Herodotus, Justin, Horace, and others, as a moral people. They had the character of maintaining justice. Theft or robbery was severely punished among them. They believed infidelity, after the

marriage engagement, to be deserving of death. They coveted neither silver nor gold. They refused to give the name of goods or riches to any but estimable things, such as health, courage, liberty, sincerity, innocence, and the like. They received friends as relations, or considered friendship as so sacred an alliance, that it differed but little from an alliance by blood.

These principles of the Scythians, as far as they are well founded, the Quakers believe to have originated in their more than ordinary attention to that divine principle, which was given to them, equally with the rest of mankind, for their instruction in moral good; to that same principle, which Socrates describes as having suggested to his mind that which was good and virtuous, or which Seneca describes to reside in men, as an observer of good and evil. For the Scythians, living in solitary and desert places, had but little communication, for many ages, with the rest of mankind, and did not obtain their system of morality from other quarters. From the Greeks and Romans, who were the most enlightened, they derived no moral benefit. For Strabo informs us that their morals had been wholly corrupted in his time, and that this wretched change had taken place in consequence of their intercourse with these nations. That they had no scripture or written law of God, is equally evident. Neither did they collect their morality

from the perusal or observance of any particular laws, that had been left them by their ancestors; for the same author, who gives them the high character just mentioned, says that they were found in the practice of justice "not on account of any laws, but on account of their own natural genius or disposition."* Neither were they found in this practice because they had exerted their reason in discovering that virtue was so much more desirable than vice; for the same author declares that nature, and not reason, had made them a moral people: for "It seems surprising," says he, "that nature should have given to them, what the Greeks have never been able to attain, either in consequence of the long succession of doctrines of their wise men, or of the precepts of their philosophers, and that the manners of a barbarous should be preferable to those of a refined people." †

This opinion, that the Spirit of God was afforded as a light to lighten the Gentiles of the ancient world, the Quakers derive from the authorities which I have now mentioned, that is, from the evidence which history has afforded, or from the sentiments which the Gentiles have discovered themselves, upon this subject. But they conceive that the question is put out of all doubt by these re-

* Justitia gentis ingeniis culta, non legibus.

† Prorsus ut admirabile videatur, hoc illis Naturam dare, quod Græci longa sapientium doctrina præceptisque philosophorum consequi nequeunt, cultosque mores incultæ barbariæ collatione superari.

markable words of the apostle Paul: "For, when the Gentiles, which have not the Law, do by nature the things contained in the Law, these, having not the Law, are a law unto themselves, which show the work of the Law written on their hearts; their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts, the mean while, accusing or else excusing one another."* And here it may be observed, that the Quakers believe, also, that in the same manner as the spirit of God enlightened the different Gentile nations previous to the time of the apostle, so it continues to enlighten those which have been discovered since; for no nation has been found so ignorant, as not to make an acknowledgment of a superior spirit, and to know the difference between good and evil. Hence it may be considered as illuminating those nations where the scriptures have never reached, at the present day.

With respect to the last case, which includes those, who have heard with their outward ears the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Quakers believe, that the spirit of God has continued its office of a spiritual instructor, as well to these as to any of the persons who have been described. For the gospel

*Rom. ii: 14, 15. Macknight, in commenting upon this passage, has the following observation out of Taylor: "Thus, in the compass of two verses, the apostle hath explained what the light of nature is, and demonstrated that there is such a light existing. It is a revelation from God, written on the heart or mind of man; consequently is a revelation common to all nations; and so far as it goes, it agrees with the things written in the external revelation, which God hath made to some nations."

is nowhere said to supersede, any more than the law of Moses did, the assistance of this spirit. On the other hand, this spirit was deemed necessary, and this by the apostles themselves, even after churches had been established, or men had become Christians. St. Paul declares, that,* whatever spiritual gifts some of his followers might then have, and however these gifts might then differ from one another, the spirit of God was given universally to man, and this to profit withal. He declares again, that,† as many as were led by this spirit, these and these only possessed the knowledge that was requisite to enable them to become the sons of God. And in his letter to the Thessalonians, who had become a Christian church, he gave them many particular injunctions, among which, one was, that they‡ would not quench or extinguish this spirit.

And in the same manner as this spirit was deemed necessary in the days of the apostles, and this to every man individually, and even after he had become a Christian, so the members of this society consider it to have been necessary since, and to continue so, wherever Christianity is professed. For many persons may read the holy scriptures, and hear them read in churches, and yet not feel the proper conviction for sin. Here, then, the Quakers conceive the spirit of God to be still necessary. It comes in with its inward monitions and reproofs,

* 1 Cor. xii : 7. † Rom. viii : 14. ‡ 1 Thess. v : 19.

where the scripture has been neglected or forgotten. It attempts to stay the arm of him who is going to offend, and frequently averts the blow.

Neither is this spirit unnecessary, even where men profess an attention to the literal precepts of the gospel. For, in proportion as men are in the way of attending to the outward scriptures, they are in the way of being inwardly taught by God. But without this inward teaching, no outward teaching can be effectual; for, though persons may read the scriptures, yet they cannot spiritually understand them; and though they may admire the Christian religion, yet they cannot enjoy it, according to the opinion of the Quakers, but through the medium of the spirit of God.

CHAPTER VII.

SECTION I.

This Spirit, as it has been given universally, so it has been given sufficiently — those, who resist this spirit, are said to quench it; and may become so hardened in time, as to be insensible of its impressions — those, who attend to it, may be said to be in the way of redemption — Similar sentiments of Munro — This visitation, treatment, and influence of the spirit usually explained by the Quakers, by the parable of the Sower.

As the Spirit of God has been thus afforded to every man since the foundation of the world to profit withal, so, the Quakers say, that it has been given to him in a sufficient measure for this purpose.

By the word "sufficient," we are not to understand that this divine monitor calls upon men every day or hour, but that it is within every man, and that it awakens him seasonably, and so often during the term of his natural life, as to exonerate God from the charge of condemning him unjustly, if he fails in his duty, and to leave himself without excuse. And, in proportion as a greater or a less measure of this spirit has been afforded him, so he is more or less guilty in the sight of his Maker.

If any should resist these salutary operations of the Holy Spirit, they resist them to their own condemnation.

Of such it may be observed, that they are said to quench or grieve the spirit, and not unfrequently

to resist God, and to crucify Christ afresh; for God, and Christ, and the Spirit, are considered to be inseparably united, in the scriptures.

Of such, also, it may be observed, that if they continue to resist God's Holy Spirit, their feelings may become so callous or hardened in time, that they may never be able to perceive its notices again; and thus, the day, as it were, of their visitation may be over: for "my people," saith God, "would not hearken to my voice, and Israel would none of me; so I gave them up to their own hearts' lusts, and they walked in their own counsels."* To the same import was the saying of Jesus Christ, when he wept over Jerusalem: "If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes:"† As if he had said, there was a day, in which ye, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, might have known those things which belonged to your peace. I was then willing to gather you, as a hen gathereth her chickens; but as you would not suffer me, the things belonging to your peace are now hid from your eyes. You would not attend to the impressions by God's Holy Spirit, when your feelings were tender and penetrable; and, therefore, now, the day having passed over, ye have lost the power of discerning them.

Those, on the other hand, who, during this visi-

* Psalm lxxxi : 11, 12. † Luke xix : 42.

tation of the Holy Spirit, attend to its suggestions or warnings, are said to be in the way of redemption or salvation.

These sentiments of the Society on this subject are beautifully described by Monro in his "Just Measures of the Pious Institutions of Youth." "The Holy Spirit," says he, "solicits and importunes those who are in a state of sin to return, by inward motions and impressions, by suggesting good thoughts and prompting to pious resolutions, by checks and controls, by convictions of sin and duty; sometimes by frights and terrors, and other whiles by love and endearments. But if men, notwithstanding all his loving solicitations, do still cherish and cleave to their lusts, and persevere in a state of sin, they are then said to resist the Holy Ghost; whereby their condition becomes very deplorable, and their conversion very difficult; for the more men resist the importunities and stifle the motions of the Holy Spirit, the stronger do the chains of their corruption and servitude become. Every new act of sin gives these a degree of strength, and consequently puts a new obstacle in the way of conversion; and when sin is turned into an inveterate and rooted habit, (which by reiterated commissions and long continuance it is) then it becomes a nature, and is with as much difficulty altered as nature is. 'Can the Ethiopian change his color, or the leopard his spots? Then may you also do good, who are accustomed to do evil.'"

"The Holy Spirit, again," says he, "inspires the prayers of those, who, in consequence of his powerful operations, have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts, with devout and filial affections, and makes intercession for them, with sighs and groans which cannot be uttered. He guides and manages them. The sons of God are led by the Spirit of God. He makes his blessed fruits, righteousness, peace, joy, and divine love, more and more to abound in them. He confirms them in goodness, persuades them to perseverance, and seals them to the day of redemption."

The Quakers usually elucidate this visitation, treatment, and influence of the Holy Spirit, by the parable of the Sower, as recorded by three of the evangelists. "Now, the seed is the word of God." But, as the ingrafted Word, which is able to save the soul, and the spirit, are the same, the parable is considered, by the Quakers, as relating to that divine light or spirit, which is given to man for his spiritual instruction and salvation. As the seed was sown in all sorts of ground, good, bad and indifferent, so this light or spirit is afforded, without exception, to all. As thorns choked this seed, and hindered it from coming to perfection, so bad customs, or the pleasures and cares of the world, hinder men from attending to this divine principle within them, and render it unfruitful in their hearts. And, as the seed in the good ground

was not interrupted, and, therefore, produced fruit in abundance; so this spiritual principle, where it is not checked, but received and cherished, produces, also, abundance of spiritual fruit in the inward man, by putting him in the way of redemption from sin, or of holiness of life.

SECTION II.

The Spirit of God, therefore, besides its office of a Teacher, performs that of a Redeemer of men — Redemption outward and inward — the outward part of it is by the sufferings of Jesus Christ — these produce forgiveness of past sins, and put men into a capacity of salvation — inward part of it is by the operation of the Spirit — this converts men, and preserves them from sins to come — outward and inward connected with each other.

The Spirit of God, which we have seen to be given to men, and to be given to them universally to enable them to distinguish between good and evil, was given them, also, the Quakers believe, for another purpose; namely, to redeem or save them. Redemption and salvation in this sense are the same, in the language of the Society, and mean a purification from the sins or pollutions of the world, so that a new birth may be produced and maintained in the inward man.

As the doctrine of the Quakers with respect to redemption, differs from that which generally obtains, I shall allot this chapter to an explanation of the distinction, which they themselves usually make upon this subject.

The Quakers never make use of the words "orig-

inal sin," because these are never to be found in the sacred writings. They consider man, however, as in a fallen or degraded state, and as inclined and liable to sin. They consider him, in short, as having the seed of sin within him, which he inherited from his parent, Adam. But, though they acknowledge this, they dare not say that sin is imputed to him on account of Adam's transgression, or that he is chargeable with sin until he actually commits it.

As every descendant, however, of Adam has this seed within him, which, amidst the numerous temptations that beset him, he allows some time or other to germinate, so he stands in need of a redeemer; that is, of some power that shall be able to procure pardon for offences, and of some power that shall be able to preserve him in the way of holiness for the future. To expiate himself, in a manner satisfactory to the Almighty, for so foul a stain upon his nature as that of sin, is utterly beyond his abilities; for no good action, that he can perform, can do away that which has been once done. And to preserve himself in a state of virtue for the future is equally out of his own power, because this cannot be done by any effort of his reason, but only by the conversion of his heart. It has, therefore, pleased the Almighty to find a remedy for him in each of these cases. Jesus Christ, by the sacrifice of him-

self, expiates for sins that are past;* and the Spirit of God, which has been afforded to him as a spiritual teacher, has the power of cleansing and purifying the heart so thoroughly, that he may be preserved from sinning for the future.

That forgiveness of past sins is procured by the sacrifice of Jesus Christ is obvious from various passages in the holy scriptures. Thus the apostle Paul says, that "Jesus Christ was set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God."† And, in his Epistle to the Colossians, he says, "In whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins."‡ This may be called the external part of redemption, because it has been effected by outward means, or by the outward sufferings of Jesus Christ; and it is considered as putting men, in consequence of this forgiveness, into the capacity of salvation. The Quakers, however, attribute this part of redemption wholly to the love of God.

The other part of redemption, on the other hand, is called inward, because it is considered by them to be an inward redemption from the power of sin, or a cleansing of the heart from the pollutions of the world. This inward redemption is produced

* Barclay considers this sacrifice to extend to infants on account of the seed or principle of sin in them.

† Rom. iii : 25. ‡ Coloss. i : 14.

by the spirit of God, as before stated, operating on the hearts of men, and so cleansing and purifying them, as to produce a new birth in the inward man; so that the same spirit of God, which has been given to men in various degrees since the fall of Adam, as a teacher in their spiritual concerns, which hath visited every man in his day, and which hath exhorted and reproved him for his spiritual welfare,* has the power of preserving him from future sin, and of leading him to salvation.

That this inward work of redemption is performed by the spirit of God, they show from various passages in the sacred writings. Thus St. Paul says, "According to his mercy he hath saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost."† The same apostle says, again, "It is the law of the spirit that maketh free from the law of sin and death."‡ And again, "As many as are led by the spirit of God, they are the sons of God."§

The Quakers say, that this inward redemption or salvation, as effected by the spirit, is obvious, also, from the experience of all good men, or from the manner in which many have experienced a total conversion, or change of heart. For, though there are undoubtedly some, who have gone on so grad-

* The Quakers believe, however, that this spirit was more plentifully diffused and that greater gifts were given to men, after Jesus was glorified, than before. Eph. iv: 8.

† Titus iii: 5. ‡ Rom. viii: 2. § Rom. viii: 14.

ually in their reformation from vice to virtue, that it may have been considered to be the effect of reason, which has previously determined on the necessity of a holy life; yet the change from vice to holiness has often been so rapid and decisive, as to leave no doubt whatever, that it could not have been produced by any effort of reason, but solely by some divine operation, which could only have been that of the spirit of God.

Of these two parts of redemption, the outward and the inward, of which the latter will be the subject of our consideration, it may be observed that they go hand in hand together. St. Paul has coupled them together in these words: "For, if when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life;"* that is, by the life of his spirit, working inwardly in us. And, as they go together in the mind of the apostle, so they go together as to the benefit of their effects. For, in the first place, the outward part of redemption takes place when the inward has begun; and, secondly, the outward part of redemption, or the sufferings of Jesus Christ, which redeem from past sins, cannot have any efficacy till the inward has begun, or while men remain in their sins; or, in other words, no man can be entitled to the forgiveness of sins that have been committed, till there

* Romans v: 10.

has been a change in the inward man; for St. John intimates, that the blood of Christ does not cleanse from sin, except men walk in the light, * or, to use an expression synonymous with the Quakers, except men walk in the spirit.

SECTION III.

Inward work of redemption, which thus goes on by the operation of the Holy Spirit, has the power of producing a new birth in men — this office of the Spirit acknowledged by other Christians — Monro, Hammond, Locke — it has the power also of leading to perfection — Sentiments of the Quakers as to perfection — and of the ever memorable John Hales — Gell — Monro — This power of inward redemption bestowed upon all.

The sufferings, then, of Jesus Christ having, by means of the forgiveness of past sins, put men into a capacity for salvation, the remaining part of salvation, or the inward redemption of man, is performed by the operation of the Holy Spirit; of which, however, it must be remembered, that a more plentiful diffusion is considered by the Quakers to have been given to men, after the ascension of Jesus Christ, than at any former period.

The nature of this inward work of redemption, or the nature of this new office, which it performs in addition to that of a religious teacher, may be seen in the following account.

It has the power, the Quakers believe, of checking and preventing bad inclinations and passions,

* John 1: 6, 7.

—of cleansing and purifying the heart—of destroying the carnal mind—of making all old things pass away—of introducing new—of raising our spiritual senses, so as to make us delight in the things of God, and to put us above an unreasonable pursuit after earthly pleasures. Redeeming, thus, from the pollutions of the world, and leading to spiritual purity, it forms a new creature. It produces a new man in the heart. It occasions a man, by its quickening power, to be born again, and thus puts him in the way to salvation. "For, verily, I say unto thee," says Jesus Christ to Nicodemus, "except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." *

This office and power of the spirit of God is acknowledged by other Christians. Monro, who has been before quoted, observes, "That the soul, being thus raised from the death of sin and born again, is divinely animated, and discovers that it is alive by the vital operations which it performs."

"Again," says he, "this blissful presence, the regenerate, who are delivered from the dominion and cleansed from the impurities of sin, have recovered, and it is on account of it that they are said to be the habitation of God, through the spirit, and the temple of the Holy Ghost. For that good spirit takes possession of them, resides in their

* John iii: 3.

hearts, becomes the mover, enlightener and director of all their faculties and powers, gives a new and heavenly tincture and tendency to all their inclinations and desires; and, in one word, is the great spring of all they think, or do, or say; and hence it is, that they are said to walk no more after the flesh, but after the spirit, and to be led by the spirit of God."

Dr. Hammond, in his "Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament," observes, that he, "who hath been born of God, is literally he, who hath had such a blessed change wrought in him by the operation of God's spirit in his heart, as to be translated from the power of darkness into the kingdom of his dear Son."

"As Christ in the flesh," says the great and venerable Locke, "was wholly exempt from all taint and sin; so we, by that spirit which was in him, shall be exempt from the dominion of carnal lusts, if we make it our choice and endeavor to live after the spirit."

"Here the apostle," says Locke, "shows that Christians are delivered from the dominion of their carnal lusts by the spirit of God, that is given to them, and dwells in them, as a new quickening principle and power, by which they are put into the state of a spiritual life, wherein their members are made capable of becoming the instruments of righteousness."

And this spirit of God, which thus redeems from the pollutions of the world, and puts a new heart, as it were, into man, is considered by the Quakers as so powerful in its operations, as to be able to lead him to perfection. By this, they do not mean to say the perfection of man is at all like the perfection of God, because the perfection of the former is capable of growth. They believe, however, that in his renewed state, he may be brought to be so perfect, as to be able to keep those commandments of God, which are enjoined him. In this sense, they believe it is that Noah is called by Moses a just and perfect man in his generation,* and that Job is described as a perfect and an upright man,† and that the evangelist, Luke, speaks of Zacharias and Elizabeth in these words: "They were both righteous before God, and walked in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord, blameless."‡

That man, who is renewed in heart, can attain this degree of perfection, they hold it but reasonable to suppose; for, to think that God has given to man any law to keep, which it is impossible for him, when aided by his Holy Spirit, to keep; or to think that the power of Satan can be stronger in man than the power of Christ, is to think very inadequately of the Almighty, and to cast a dishonorable reflection on his goodness, his justice, and his power. Add

* Gen. vi: 9. † Job i: 8. ‡ Luke i: 6.

to which, that there would not have been such expressions in the New Testament as those of Jesus Christ: "Be ye, therefore, perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect." Nor would there have been other expressions of the apostles, of a similar meaning, if the renewed man had not possessed the power of doing the will of God.

This doctrine of Perfection brought the Quakers into diputes with persons of other religious denominations, at the time of their establishment. But, however it might be disapproved of, it was not new in those times, nor was it originally introduced by them. Some of the fathers of the church, and many estimable divines of different countries, had adopted it. And here it may be noticed, that the doctrine had been received also by several of the religious in our own.

In the "Golden Remains" of the ever memorable John Hales, we find that "Through the grace of him that doth enable us, we are stronger than Satan; and the policy of Christian warfare hath as many means to keep back and defend, as the deepest reach of Satan hath to give the onset."

"St. Augustine," says this amiable writer, "was of opinion, that it was possible for us even in this natural life, seconded by the grace of God, perfectly to accomplish what the Law requires at our hands." In the "Golden Remains" many sentiments are to be found, of the same tenor.

Bacon, who collected and published Dr. Robert Gell's "Remains," says in his preface, that Dr. Gell preached before King Charles I., on Ephesians iv: 10., at New Market, in the year 1631, a bold discourse, yet becoming him, testifying before the king that doctrine he taught to his life's end, "The possibility, through grace, of keeping the law of God in this life." Whoever reads these venerable "Remains" will find this doctrine inculcated in them.

Monro, who lived some time after Dr. Gell, continued the same doctrine. "So great," says he, in his "Just Measures," "is the goodness and benignity of God, and so perfect is the justice of his nature, that he will not, cannot, command impossibilties. Whatever he requires of mankind by way of duty, he enables them to perform. This grace goes before and assists their endeavors; so that, when they do not comply with his injunctions, it is because they will not employ the power that he has given them, and which he is ready to increase and heighten, upon their dutiful improvement of what they have already received, and their serious application to him for more."

Again; "Though of ourselves, and without Christ, we can do nothing, yet with him, we can do all things;" and then he adds, a little lower, "Why should any duty frighten us, or seem impossible to us?"

Having now stated it to be the belief of the members of this community that the spirit of God performs the inward work of redemption in man, and that its powers are such that it may lead him to perfection in the way explained, it remains for me to observe that it is their belief also, that this spirit has been given for these purposes, without any exception, to all of the human race; or, in the same manner as it was given as an universal teacher, so it has been given as an universal redeemer, to man; and that it acts in this capacity and fulfills its office, to all those who attend to its inward strivings, and encourage its influence on their hearts.

That it was given to all for this purpose, they believe to be manifest from the apostle Paul: "For the grace of God," says he, "which bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men."* He says, again, that "The Gospel was preached unto every creature which is under heaven."† He defines the Gospel to be "The power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth."‡ He means, therefore, that this inward power of redemption was afforded to all. For the outward Gospel had not been preached to all, in the time of the apostle, nor has it been preached to all, even at the present day. But these passages are of universal import. They imply no exception. They comprehend every individual of the human race.

* Titus ii: 11. † Coloss. i:23. ‡ Rom. i: 16.

That this Spirit was also given to all, for these purposes, the Quakers believe, when they consider other passages in the scriptures, which appear to them to belong to this subject. For, they consider this spirit* to have begun its inward work of redemption with the fall of the first man, and to have continued it through the patriarchal and Jewish ages, to the outward coming of Christ, when there was to be no other inward redemption but by the same means. Thus, by the promise, which was given to Adam, there was to be perpetual enmity between the seed of the serpent and the seed of the woman, though the latter was to vanquish; or, as the Quakers interpret it, between the spirit of sin and the spirit of God, that was placed in man. This promise was fully accomplished by Jesus, (who came from the woman). But the Quakers consider it to have been partially accomplished by many, from the time of Adam; for, they believe that many, who have attended to the seed of God, or, which is the same thing, † to the portion of the spirit of God within them, have witnessed the enmity alluded to, and the power of sin, in a great degree bruised within

* In the same manner Jesus Christ, having tasted death for every man, the sacrifice or outward redemption looks backwards and forwards, as well to Adam as to those who lived after the Gospel-times.

† 1 John iii: 9. Whoever is born of God does not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God.

their own hearts, or have experienced in these early times the redeeming power of the spirit of God. And, except this be the case, they conceive some of the passages, which they suppose to relate to this subject, not to be so satisfactorily explicable as they might be rendered. For it is said of Abraham, that he saw Christ's day. But, as Abraham died long before the visible appearance of Christ in the flesh, he could neither have seen Christ outwardly, nor his day. It is still affirmed that he saw Christ's day. And the Quakers say, they believe that he saw him inwardly; for he witnessed in his own spirit, which is the same thing, the redeeming power of the spirit of God. For, as the world was made by the spirit, or by the Word, which is frequently interpreted to be Christ, so these terms are synonymous, and often used, the one for the other. The Quakers, therefore, believe Abraham to have experienced, in a very high degree, the power of this inward redemption.* They believe, also, that Job experienced it in an extraordinary manner. For he asserted that he knew "that his redeemer lived". But Job could never have said this, except he had alluded to the powerful influence within him, which had purified his heart from the pollution of sin. For, being as early

* The Quakers do not deny that Abraham might have seen Christ, prophetically, but they believe he saw him particularly in the way described.

as the time of Moses, he could never have seen any of the sacred writings which mentioned Jesus Christ as a redeemer, or the person of Jesus Christ. The Quakers, also consider David, from the numerous expressions to be found in the Psalms, as having experienced this inward work of redemption, also. And, in the same manner as they conceive this spirit to have striven with Abraham and Job and David, so they conceive it to have striven with others of the same nation, for their inward redemption from the power of sin, to the time of Jesus Christ. They believe, again, that it has striven with all the heathen nations, from the foundation of the world, to the same period. And they believe, also, that it has continued its office of a redeemer to all people, whether Jews, Heathens, or Christians, from the time of Jesus Christ to the present day.

SECTION IV.

Proposition of the new birth and perfection as hitherto explained, explained in the ordinary way — new view of the subject from a more particular detail of the views and expressions of the Quakers concerning it — a new spiritual birth, as real from the spiritual seed of the Kingdom, as that of plants or vegetables from their seeds in the natural world — and the new birth proceeds really in the same progressive manner to maturity or perfection — Result of this new view the same as that in the former section.

I stated in the last section that the spirit of God is considered by the Society as effecting the work of redemption in men; and that in this office, it has

the power of producing a new birth in them, and of leading them to perfection in the way described. This proposition, however, I explained only in the ordinary way. But as the Quakers have a particular way of viewing and expressing it, and as they deem it one of the most important of their religious propositions, I trust that I shall be excused by the reader, if I allot one other section to this subject.

Jesus Christ states, as was said before, in the most clear and positive terms, that, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of heaven.

Now, the great work of religion is salvation, or redemption. Without this no man can see God. And, therefore, the meaning of the words of Jesus Christ will be this, — that, except a man be born again, he cannot experience that inward work of redemption, which shall enable him to see the kingdom of heaven.

Redemption, then, is necessary to qualify for a participation in the heavenly joys; and it is stated to take place by means of the new birth.

The particular ideas, then, which the Quakers have, relative to the new birth and perfection, are the following:

In the same manner as the Divine Being has scattered the seeds of plants and vegetables in the

body of the earth, so he has implanted a portion of his own incorruptible seed, or of that, which in scripture language is called the "Seed of the Kingdom," in the soul of every individual of the human race. As the sun by its genial influence quickens the vegetable seed, so it is the office of the Holy Spirit, in whom is life, and who resides in the temple of man, to quicken that which is heavenly. And, in the same manner as the vegetable seed conceives and brings forth a plant, or a tree with root, stem, and branches; so, if the soul, in which the seed of the Kingdom is placed, be willing to receive the influence of the Holy Spirit upon it, this seed is quickened, and a spiritual offspring is produced. Now, this offspring is said to be as real a birth from the seed in the soul, by means of the spirit, as the plant from its own seed by means of the influence of the sun. "The seed of the Kingdom," says Isaac Pennington, "Consists, not in words or notions of mind, but is an inward thing, an inward spiritual substance in the heart, as real inwardly, in its kind, as other seeds are outwardly, in their kind; and being received by faith, and taking root in man, (his heart, his earth, being ploughed up and prepared for it), it groweth up inwardly, as truly and really as any outward seed doth outwardly."

With respect to the offspring thus produced in

the soul of man, it may be variously named. As it comes from the incorruptible seed of God, it may be called a birth of the Divine Nature or Life. As it comes by the agency of the spirit, it may be called the Life of the Spirit. As it is new, it may be called the new man, or creature. Or it may have the appellation of a child of God. Or it is that spiritual life and light, or that spiritual principle and power within us, which may be called the Anointed, or Christ within.

"As this seed," says Barclay, "is received in the heart, and suffered to bring forth its natural and proper effect, Christ comes to be formed and raised, called in scripture, the new man, Christ within us, the hope of glory. Yet, herein, they (the Quakers) do not equal themselves with the Holy Man, the Lord Jesus Christ, in whom the fullness of the Godhead dwelt bodily, neither destroy his present existence. For, though they affirm Christ dwells in them, yet not immediately, but mediately, as he is in that seed which is in them."

Of the same opinion was the learned Cudworth. "We all," says he, "receive of his fullness, grace for grace, as all the stars in heaven are said to light their candles at the sun's flame. For, though his body be withdrawn from us, yet by the lively and virtual contact of his spirit, he is always kindling, cheering, quickening, warming, and enlivening

hearts. Nay, this divine life begun and kindled in any heart, wheresoever it be, is something of God in flesh, and, in a sober and qualified sense, divinity incarnate; and all particular Christians, that are really possessed of it, are so many mystical Christs."

Again: "Never was any tender infant so dear to those bowels that begat it, as an infant, new-born Christ, formed in the heart of any true believer, to God the father of it."

This account relative to the new birth, the Quakers conceive to be strictly deducible from the holy scriptures. It is true, they conceive, as far as the new birth relates to God, and to the seed, and to the spirit, from the following passages: "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, for his seed remaineth in him:"* — "Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God:"† — "Of his own will begat he us, with the word of truth."‡ It is considered to be true, again, as far as the new birth relates to the creature born, and to the name which it may bear, from these different expressions: "Of whom I travail in birth again, till Christ be formed in you:"§ — Nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me:"‖ — "But ye have received the spirit of adoption, where-

* 1 John iii: 9. † 1 Peter i: 23. ‡ James i: 18. § Gal. iv: 19. ‖ Gal. ii: 20.

by we cry Abba, Father: "*—"But, as many as received him, (that is, the Word, or Spirit) to them gave he power to become the sons of God:"†—"For, as many as are led by the spirit of God, they are the sons of God." ‡ And, as parents and children resemble one another, so believers are made "conformable to the image of his Son, § who is the image of the invisible God." ‖

Having explained in what the new birth consists, or having shown, according to Barclay, "That the seed is a real spiritual substance, which the soul of man is capable of feeling and apprehending, from which that real spiritual inward birth arises, called the new creature or the new man in the heart," it remains to show how believers, or those, in whose souls Christ is thus produced, may be said "to grow up to perfection;" for, by this real birth, or geniture in them, they come to have those spiritual senses raised, by which they are made capable of tasting, smelling, seeing, and handling the things of God.

It may be observed, then, that in the new birth a progress is experienced, from infancy to youth, and from youth to manhood. As it is only by submission to the operation of the spirit, that this birth can take place, so it is only by a like submission

* Rom. viii: 15. † John i: 12. ‡ Rom. viii: 14. § Rom. viii: 39.
‖ Coloss. i: 15.

that any progress or growth from one stature to another will be experienced in it. Neither can the regenerated become instrumental in the redemption of others, any further, or otherwise, than as Christ, or the Anointed dwells and operates in them, teaching them all truths necessary to be known, and strengthening them to perform every act necessary to be done for this purpose. He must be their only means and "hope of glory."* It will be then that "The creature, which waiteth in earnest expectation for the manifestation of the sons of God, will be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God."† For, "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away, behold, all things are become new, and all things of God."‡

Those, who are the babes of the regeneration, begin to see spiritual things. The natural man, the mere creature, never saw God. But the babes, who cry Abba, Father, begin to see and to know him. Though as yet unskillful in the word of righteousness, "They desire the sincere milk of the Word, that they may grow thereby."§ And "their sins are forgiven them."‖

Those, who may be considered as the young men in this state, are said to be "spiritually strong,

* Coloss. i: 27. † Rom. viii: 19, 21. ‡ 2 Cor. v: 17, 18.
§ 1 Peter ii: 2. ‖ 1 John ii: 12.

and the word of God abiding in them; to have overcome the wicked one." *

They, who have attained a state of manhood, are called fathers, or are said to be of full age, and to be capable of taking strong meat.

"They come, in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto perfect men, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. They arrive at such a state of stability, that they are no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine; but, speaking the truth in love, grow up unto him in all things, which is the head, even Christ." † — "The old man with his deeds being put off, they have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge, after the image of him that created him." ‡ — "They are washed, they are sanctified, they are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and in the spirit of our God." § The new creation is thus completed, and the Sabbath, wherein man ceases from his own works, is fully attained; so that every believer can then say with the apostle, "I am crucified with Christ. Nevertheless I live; yet, not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life, which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me." ‖

* 1 John ii : 14.
† Ephes. iv : 13,14, 15.
‡ Coloss. iii : 9, 10.
§ 1 Cor. vi : 11.
‖ Galat. ii : 28.

But this state of manhood, "by which the man of God may be made perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works,"* does not take place till Christ be fully formed in the souls of believers, or till they are brought wholly under his rule and government. He must be substantially formed in them. He must actually be their life and their hope of glory. He must be their head and governor. As the head and the body and the members are one, according to the apostle, but the head directs; so Christ, and believers in whom Christ is born and formed, are one spiritual body, which he himself must direct, also. Thus Christ, where he is fully formed in man, or where believers are grown up to the measure of the stature and fullness of sonship, is the head of every man, and God is the head of Christ. Thus Christ, the begotten, entirely governs the whole man, as the head directs and governs all the members of the body; and God, the Father, as the head of Christ, entirely guides and governs the begotten. Hence, believers "are Christ's and Christ is God's."† so that ultimately, God is all in all.

Having given this new view of the subject, I shall only observe further upon it, that the substance of this chapter turns out to be the same as that of the preceding; or that the inward work of redemption

* 2 Tim. iii: 17. † 1 Cor. iii: 23.

cannot be effected but through the medium of the spirit of God. For Christ, according to the ideas now held out, must be born in men, and he must be formed in them, and he must rule them, before they can experience full inward redemption; or, in other words, they cannot experience this inward work of redemption, except they can truly say that he governs them, or except they can truly call him Governor or Lord. But no person can say that Christ rules in him, except he undergoes the spiritual process of regeneration, which has been described; or, to use the words of the apostle, * "No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Spirit." †

* 1 Cor. xii : 3.

† The reader will easily discern from this new view of the new birth, how men, according to the Quakers, become partakers of the divine nature, and how the Quakers make it out that Abraham and others saw Christ's day, as I mentioned in a former chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.

SECTION I.

Quakers believe, from the foregoing account, that redemption is possible to all — hence they deny the doctrine of Election and Reprobation — do not deny the texts on which it is founded, but the interpreation of them — as contrary to the doctrines of Jesus Christ and the apostles — as making his mission unnecessary — as rendering many precepts useless — and as casting a stain on the character and attributes of God.

It will appear from the foregoing observations, that it is the belief of the members of this Society, that every man, who attends to the strivings of the Holy Spirit, has the power of inward redemption within himself, and that, as outward redemption by the sufferings of Jesus Christ extends to all, where the inward has taken place, so redemption or salvation, in its full extent, is possible to every individual of the human race.

This position, however, is denied by those Christians, who have pronounced in favor of the doctrine of Election and Reprobation; because, if they believe some were predestinated from all eternity to eternal happiness, and the rest to eternal misery, they must, then, believe that salvation is not possible to all, and that it was not intended to be universal.

The Quakers have attempted to answer objections which have been thus made to their theory of redemption. And, as the reader will probable ex-

pect that I should notice what they have said upon this subject, I have reserved the answers they have given for the present place.

In the first place, they do not deny the genuineness of any of those texts, which are usually advanced against them. Of all people, they fly the least to the cover of interpolation or mutilation of scripture, to shield themselves from the strokes of their opponents. They believe, however, that there are passages in the sacred writings, which will admit an interpretation different from that which has been assigned them, by many ; and upon this, they principally rely in the present case. If there are passages to which two meanings may be annexed, and if for one, there is equal authority as for the other, yet, if one meaning should destroy all the most glorious attributes of Supreme Being, and the other should preserve them, as recognized in the other parts of the scripture, they think they are bound to receive that, which favors the justice, mercy, and wisdom of God, rather than that, which makes him appear both unjust and cruel.

They believe, again, that some Christians have misunderstood the texts, which they quote in favor of the doctrine of Election and Reprobation, for the following reasons :

First, because, if God had from all eternity predestinated some to eternal happiness, and the rest to

eternal misery, the mission of Jesus Christ upon earth became unnecessary, and his mediation ineffectual.

If this, again, had been a fundamental doctrine of Christianity, it never could have been overlooked (considering that it is of more importance to men than any other) by the founder of that religion. But he never delivered any words in the course of his ministry, from whence any reasonable conclusion could be drawn, that such a doctrine formed any part of the creed, which he intended to establish among men. His doctrine was that of mercy, tenderness and love, in which he inculcated the power and efficacy of repentance, and declared there was more joy in heaven over one sinner that repented, than over ninety-nine just persons who needed no repentance. By the parable of the Sower, which the Quakers consider to relate wholly to the Word or Spirit of God, it appears that persons of all descriptions were visited equally for their salvation; and that their salvation depended much upon themselves; and that, where obstacles arose, they arose from themselves, also, by allowing temptations, persecutions, and the cares of the world, to overcome them. In short, they believe that the doctrine of Election and Reprobation is contrary to the whole tenor of the doctrines promulgated by Jesus Christ.

They conceive, also, that this doctrine is contrary

to the doctrines promulgated by the evangelists and apostles, and particularly contrary to those of St. Paul, himself, from whom it is principally taken. To make this apostle contradict himself, they dare not. And they must, therefore, conclude, either that no person has rightly understood it, and that it has hitherto been kept in mystery; or, if it be intelligible to the human understanding, it must be explained by comparing it with other texts of the same apostle, as well as with those of others, and always in connection with the general doctrines of Christianity, and the character and attributes of God. Now, the apostle Paul, who is considered to intimate that God predestinated some to eternal salvation, and the rest to eternal misery, * says, that "God made of one blood, all nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth;" † that, in the Gospel dispensation, "There is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision, nor uncircumcision, Barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free." ‡ He desires, also, Timothy "To make prayers and supplications and intercessions for all men;" § which the Quakers conceive he could not have done, if he had not believed it to be possible that all might be saved. "For this is acceptable in the sight of our Savior, who will have all men to be saved; there is one God, and one meditator

* Rom. chap. ix. † Acts xvii : 26. ‡ Coloss. iii : 11.
§ 1 Tim. ii : 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

between God and men: the man, Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all." Again: he says, "That Jesus Christ tasted death for every man."* And, in another place, he says, "The Grace of God, which bringeth salvation, has appeared unto all men."† But, if this Grace has appeared to all, none can have been without it; and if its object be salvation, then, all must have had sufficient of it to save them, if obedient to its saving operations.

If the doctrine, also, of Election and Reprobation be true, then the recommendations of Jesus Christ and his apostles, and particularly of Paul, himself, can be of no avail, and ought never to have been given. Prayer is inculcated by these, as an acceptable duty. But why should men pray, if they are condemned beforehand, and if their destiny is inevitable? If the doctrine, again, be true, then all the exhortations to repentance, which are to be found in the scriptures, must be unnecessary. For why should men repent, except for a little temporary happiness in this world, if they cannot be saved in the future? This doctrine is considered by the Quakers, as making the precepts of the apostles unnecessary; as setting aside the hopes and encouragements of the Gospel; and as standing in the way of repentance, or holiness of life.

This doctrine, again, they consider objectionable,

* 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. † Titus ii. 11.

inasmuch as it obliges men to sin, and charges them with the commission of it. It makes, also, the fountain of all purity the fountain of all sin; and the Author of all good the fountain of all evil. It gives to the Supreme Being a malevolence that is not to be found in the character of the most malevolent of creatures. It makes him more cruel than the most cruel oppressor ever recorded of the human race. It makes him to have deliberately made millions of men, for no other purpose, than to stand by, and delight in their misery and destruction. But is it possible, the Quakers say, for this to be true of him, who is thus described by St. John,—"God is love?"

SECTION II.

Quakers' interpretation of the texts, which relate to this doctrine — these texts of public and private import — Election, as of public import, relates to offices of usefulness, and not to salvation — as of private, it relates immediately to the Jews — these had been elected, but were passed over for the Gentiles — nothing more unreasonable in this, than in the case of Ishmael and Esau — or that Pharaoh's crimes should receive Pharaoh's punishment — but though the Gentiles were chosen, they could stand in favor, no longer than while they were obedient and faithful.

The members of this community conceive, that, in their intrepretation of the passages, which are usually quoted in support of the doctrine of Election and Reprobation, and which I shall now give to the reader, they do no violence to the attributes of the Almighty; but, on the other hand, confirm his wisdom, justice, and mercy, as displayed in the

sacred writings, in his religious government of the world.

These passages may be considered both as of public and of private import: of public, as they relate to the world at large; of private, as they relate to the Jews, to whom they were addressed by the apostle.

The Quakers, in viewing the doctrine as of public import, use the words "called," "predestined," and "chosen," in the ordinary way, in which they are used in the scriptures, or in the way in which Christians generally understand them.

They believe that the Almighty intended, from the beginning, to make both individuals and nations subservient to the end, which he had proposed to himself in the creation of the world. For this purpose he gave men different measures of his holy spirit; and, in proportion as they have used these gifts more extensively than others, they have been more useful among mankind. Now, all these may be truly said to have been instruments in the hands of Providence for the good works, which they have severally performed; but, if instruments in his hands, then, they may not improperly be styled "chosen vessels." In this sense they view the words "chosen" or "called." In the same sense they view also the word "pre-ordained,"—but with this difference, that the instruments were foreknown. And, that God should have known these

instruments beforehand, is not wonderful; for he, who created the world, and who, to use a human expression, must see at one glance all that ever has been, and that is, and that is to come, must have known the means to be employed, and the characters who were to move, in the execution of his different dispensations to the world.

In this sense, they conceive that God may be said to have foreknown, called, chosen, and pre-ordained Noah, and, also, Abraham, and, also, Moses, and Aaron and his sons, and all the prophets, and all the evangelists and apostles, and all the good men, who have been useful in spiritual services in their own generation or day.

In this sense, also, many may be said to have been chosen, or called, in the days of the apostle, Paul; for they are described as having had various gifts bestowed upon them by the spirit of God. "To one was given the word of wisdom; to another, the word of knowledge; to another, the discerning of spirits; to another, prophesy; and to others, other kinds of gifts. But, the self-same spirit worked all these, dividing to every man, severally, as he chose;"* that is, particular persons were called by the spirit of God, in the days of the apostle, to particular offices, for the perfecting of his church.

In the same sense, the Quakers consider all true

* 1 Cor. xii: 10, 11.

ministers of the Gospel to be chosen. They believe that no imposition of hands, or human ordination, can qualify for this office. God, by means of his Holy Spirit, alone, prepares such as are to be the vessels in his house. Those, therefore, who, in obedience to this spirit, come forth from the multitude to perform spiritual offices, may be said to be called or chosen.

In this sense, nations may be said to be chosen, also: such were the Israelites, who, by means of their peculiar laws and institutions, were kept apart from the other inhabitants of the world.

Now, the question is, if any persons should be said to have been chosen in the scripture language, for what were they so chosen? The favorers of the doctrine of Election and Reprobation say, for their salvation. But the Quakers say, this is no where manifest; for the term salvation is not annexed to any of the passages, from which the doctrine is drawn. Nor do they believe it can be made to appear, from any of the scriptural writings, that one man is called, or chosen, or predestined to salvation, more than another. They believe, on the other hand, that these words relate wholly to the usefulness of individuals; and that, if God has chosen any particular persons, he has chosen them that they might be the ministers of good to others, that they might be spiritual lights in the universe; or,

that they might become, in different times and circumstances, instruments of increasing the happiness of their fellow-creatures. Thus the Almighty may be said to have chosen Noah, to perpetuate the memory of the deluge, to promulgate the origin and history of mankind, and to become, as St. Peter calls him, "A preacher of righteousness" to those, who were to be the ancestors of men. Thus he may be said to have chosen Moses to give the Law, and to lead out the Israelites, and to preserve them as a distinct people, who should carry with them notions of his existence, his providence and his power. Thus he may be said to have chosen the prophets, that men in after ages, seeing their prophesies accomplished, might believe that Christianity was of divine origin. Thus, also, he may be said to have chosen Paul, (and indeed Paul is described as a chosen vessel) * to diffuse the Gospel among the Gentile world.

That the words "called" or "chosen" relate to the usefulness of individuals in the world, and not to their salvation, the Quakers believe from examining the comparison or simile, which St. Paul has introduced, of the potter and of his clay, upon this very occasion; "Shall the thing formed say unto him that formed it, why hast thou made me thus? Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same

* Malachi i: 10.

lump to make one vessel unto honor and another to dishonor?"* This simile, they say, relates obviously to the uses of these vessels. The potter makes some for splendid or extraordinary uses and purposes, and others for those which are mean and ordinary. So God has chosen individuals to great and glorious uses, while others remain in the mean or common mass, undistinguished by any very active part in the promotion of the ends of the world. Nor have the latter any more reason to complain that God has given to others greater spiritual gifts, than that he has given to one man a better intellectual capacity than to another.

They argue, again, that the words "called" or "chosen" relate to usefulness, and not to salvation; because, if men were predestined, from all eternity, to salvation, they could never do anything to deprive themselves of that salvation; that is, they could never do anything wrong in this life, or fall from a state of purity: whereas it appears, that many of those, whom the scriptures consider to have been chosen, have failed in their duty to God; that these have had no better ground to stand upon than their neighbors; that election has not secured them from the displeasure of the Almighty; but that they have been made to stand or fall, notwithstanding their election, as they acted well or

* Rom. ix: 30, 31, 32.

ill,—God having conducted himself no otherwise to them than he has done to others in his moral government of the world.

That persons so chosen have failed in their duty to God, or that election has not preserved them from sin, is apparent, it is presumed, from the scriptures. For, in the first place, the Israelites were a chosen people. They were the people to whom the apostle addressed himself, in the chapter which has given rise to the doctrine of Election and Reprobation, as the elected, or as having had the preference over the descendants of Esau and others. And yet, this election did not secure to them a state of perpetual obedience, or the continnal favor of God. In the wilderness, they were frequently rebellious, and they were often punished. In the time of Malachi, to which the apostle directs their attention, they were grown so wicked, that God is said to have no pleasure in them, and that he would not receive an offering at their hands.* And, in subsequent times, or in the time of the apostle, he tells them, that they were then passed over, notwithstanding their election, on account of their want of righteousness and faith, and that the Gentiles were chosen in their place.†

In the second place, Jesus Christ is said, in the New Testament, to have called or chosen his disciples. But this call or election did not secure the

good behavior of Judas, or protect him from the displeasure of his master.

In the third place, it may be observed, that the apostle, Paul, considers the churches under his care, as called or chosen, as consisting of people, who came out of the great body of the heathen world, to become a select community under the Christian name. He endeavors to inculcate in them a belief that they were the Lord's people; that they were under his immediate or paticular care; that God knew and loved them, before they knew and loved him. And yet, this election, it appears, did not secure them from falling off; for many of them became apostates in the time of the apostle, so that "He was grieved, fearing that he had bestowed upon them his labor, in vain." Neither did this election secure even to those, who then remained in the church, any certainty of salvation; otherwise, the apostle would not have exhorted them so earnestly "To continue in goodness, lest they should be cut off."

The Quakers believe, again, that the apostle, Paul, never included salvation in the words "called" or "chosen," for another reason.

For, if these words had implied salvation, then non-election might have implied the destruction annexed to it by the favorers of the doctrine of Reprobation. But no person, who knows whom

the apostle meant, when he mentions those who had received, and those who had lost the preference, entertains any such notion or idea. For, who believes that, because Isaac is said to have had the preference of Ishmael, and Jacob of Esau, that, therefore, Ishmael and Esau, who were quite as great princes in their times as Isaac and Jacob, were to be doomed to eternal misery? Who believes that this preference (and the apostle alludes to no other) ever related to the salvation of souls? or, rather, that it did not wholly relate to the circumstance, that the descendants of Isaac and Jacob were to preserve the church of God in the midst of the heathen nations, and that the Messiah was to come from their own line, instead of that of their elder brethren? Rejection or Reprobation, too, in the sense in which it is generally used by the advocates for the doctrine, is contrary, in a second point of view, in the opinion of the Quakers, to the sense of the comparison or simile made by the apostle, on this occasion. For, when a potter makes two sorts of vessels, or such as are mean and such as are fine and splendid, he makes them for their respective uses. But he never makes the meaner sort for the purpose of dashing them to pieces.

The doctrine, therefore, in dispute, if viewed as a doctrine of general import, only means, in the opinion of the Society, that the Almighty has a

right to dispose of his spiritual favors as he pleases, and that he has given, accordingly, different mesures of his spirit to different people; but that, in doing this, he does not exclude others from an opportunity of salvation, or a right to life. On the other hand, they believe that he is no respecter of persons, only as far as obedience is concerned; that election neither secures of itself good behavior, nor protects from punishment; that every man, who standeth, must take heed lest he fall; that no man can boast of his election, so as to look down with contempt upon his meaner brethren; and that there is no other foundation for an expectation of the continuance of divine favor than a religious life.

In viewing the passages in question as of private import, which is the next view the Quakers take of them, the same lesson, and no other, is inculcated. The apostle, in the ninth chapter of the Romans, addresses himself to the Jews, who had been a chosen people, and rescues the character of God from the imputation of injustice, in having passed over them, and in having admitted the Gentiles to a participation of his favors.

The Jews had depended so much upon their privileges, as the children of Abraham, and so much upon their ceremonial observances of the law, that they conceived themselves to have a right to continue to be the peculiar people of God. The apos-

tle, however, teaches them, in the ninth and the eleventh chapters of the Romans, a different lesson, and may be said to address them in the following manner:

"I am truly sorry, my kinsmen in the flesh, that you, who have always considered yourselves the elder and chosen branches of the family of the world, should have been passed over; and that the Gentiles, whom you have always looked upon as the younger should be now preferred. But God is just. He will not sanction unrighteousness in any nor will he allow any choice of his to continue persons in favor longer than, after much long suffering, he finds them deserving his support. You are acquainted with your own history. The Almighty, as you know, undoubtedly distinguished the posterity of Abraham, but he was not partial to them alike. Did he not reject Ishmael, the scoffer, though he was the elder son of Abraham, and countenance Isaac, who was the younger? Did he not pass over Esau, the elder son of Isaac, who had sold his birthright, and prefer Jacob? Did he not set aside Reuben, Simeon, and Levi, the three eldest sons of Jacob, who were guilty of incest, treachery and murder, and choose that the Messiah should come from Judah, who was but the fourth? But if, in these instances he did not respect eldership, why do you expect that he will not

pass you over for the Gentiles, if ye coutinue in unbelief?

"But so true it is, that he will not support any whom he may have chosen, longer than they continue to deserve it, that he will not even continue his countenance to the Gentiles, though he has now preferred them, if by any misconduct they should become insensible of his favors. For, I may compare both you and them to an olive tree.* If some of you, for instance, who are the elder or natural branches, should be broken off, and the Gentiles, being a wild olive-tree, should be grafted in among you, and with you partake of the root and fatness of the olive-tree, it would not become them to boast against you, the branches: for, if they boast, they do not bear the root, but the root them. Perhaps, however, they might say, that the branches were broken off, that they might be grafted in. Well; but it was wholly on account of unbelief, that you were broken off, and it was wholly by faith, that they themselves were taken in. But it becomes them not to be high-minded, but to fear. For, if God spared not you, the natural branches, let them take heed, lest he, also, spare not them.

"Moreover, my kinsmen in the flesh, I must tell you, that you have not only no right to complain

* Rom. xi: 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

because the Gentiles have been preferred, but that you would have no right to complain, even if you were to become the objects of God's vengeance. You cannot forget, in the history of your own nation, the example of Pharaoh. You are acquainted with his obstinacy and disobedience. You know that he stifled his convictions from day to day. You know that by stifling these, or by resisting God's holy spirit, he became daily more hardened; and that, by allowing himself to become daily more hardened, he fitted himself for a vessel of wrath, or prepared the way for his own destruction. You know, at length, that God's judgments, but not till after much long-suffering, came upon him, so that the power of God became thus manifested to many. But, if you know all these things, and continue in unrighteousness and unbelief, which were the crimes of Pharaoh, also, why do you imagine that your hearts will not become hardened like the heart of Pharaoh; and that, if, in consequence, you are guilty of Pharaoh's crimes, you are not deserving of Pharaoh's punishment?"

CHAPTER IX.

Recapitulation of all the doctrines hitherto laid down with respect to the influence of the Spirit — objection to this, that the Quakers make everything of the Spirit, and but little of Jesus Christ — objections only noticed to show that Christians have not always a right apprehension of scriptural terms, and, therefore, often quarrel with one another about trifles — or that there is, in this particular case, no difference between the doctrine of the Quakers and that of the objectors on this subject.

I SHALL now recapitulate in few words, or in one general proposition, all the doctrines, which have been advanced relative to the power of the Spirit; and shall just notice an argument, which will probably arise on such a recapitulation, before I proceed to a new subject.

The Quakers, then, believe that the spirit of God formed or created the world. They believe that a portion of it was given to men, after this creation, as a guide to them in their spiritual concerns. They believe that this portion of it was continued to them after the Deluge, in the same manner and for the same purposes, to the time of Christ. It was given, however, in this interval, to different persons in different degrees. Thus Moses was more illuminated by it than his contemporaries; for it became, through him, the author of the Law. Thus the prophets received a greater portion of it than ordinary persons in their own times. In the time of Christ, it continued the same office; but it

was then given more diffusively than before, and also more diffusively to some than to others. Thus the evangelists and apostles received it in an extraordinary degree; and it became, through them, and Jesus Christ their head, the author of the Gospel. But, besides its office of a spiritual light and guide to men in their spiritual concerns, during all the period now assigned, it became to them, as they attended to its influence, an inward redeemer, producing in them a new birth, and leading them to perfection. And, as it was thus both a guide and an inward redeemer, so it has continued these offices to the present day.

From hence it will be apparent, that the acknowledgment of God's Holy Spirit in its various operations, as given in different portions, before and after the sacrifice of Christ, is the acknowledgment of a principle, which is the great cornerstone of the religion of the Quakers. Without this there can be no knowledge, in their opinion, of spiritual things. Without this there can be no spiritual interpretation of the scriptures themselves. Without this there can be no redemption, either by inward or outward means. Without this there can be no enjoyment of the knowledge of divine things. Take, therefore, this principle away from them, and you take away their religion at once. Take away the spirit, and Christianity remains with them no

more Christianity, than the dead carcass of a man, when the spirit is departed, remains a man. Whatsoever is excellent, whatsoever is noble, whatsoever is worthy, whatsoever is desirable in the Christian faith, they ascribe to this spirit; and they believe that true Christianity can no more subsist without it, than the outward world could exist without the vital influence of the sun.

Now, an objection will be made to the proposition, as I have just stated it, by some Christians, and even by those, who do not wish to derogate from the spirit of God, (for I have frequently heard it started by such) that the Quakers, by means of these doctrines, make everything of the spirit, and but little of Jesus Christ.* I shall, therefore, notice this objection in this place, not so much with a view of answering it, as of attempting to show, that Christians have not always a right apprehension of scriptural terms, and, therefore, that they sometimes quarrel with one another about trifles; or rather, that when they have disputes with each other, there is sometimes scarcely a shade of difference between them.

To those who make the objection, I shall describe the proposition, which has been stated above, in

* The Quakers make much of the advantages of Christ's coming in the flesh. Among these, are considered, the sacrifice of his own body, a more plentiful diffusion of the Spirit, and a clearer revelation relative to God and man.

different terms. I shall leave out the words "Spirit of God," and I shall wholly substitute the term "Christ." This I shall do, upon the authority of some of our best divines. The proposition will then run thus:

God, by Christ, created the world, for "Without him was not anything made that was made."

He made, by Christ, also, the terrestial globe, on which we live. He made the whole host of heaven. He made, therefore, besides our own, other planets and other worlds.

He caused, also, by Christ, the generation of all animated nature, and, of course, of the life and vital powers of man.

He occasioned, also, by the same Christ, the generation of reason or intellect, and of a spiritual faculty, to man.

Man, however, had not long been created before he fell into sin. It pleased God, therefore, that the same Christ, which had thus appeared in creation, should strive inwardly with man, and awaken his spiritual faculties, by which he might be able to know good from evil, and to obtain inward redemption from the pollutions of sin. And this inward striving of Christ was to be with every man, in after times, so that all would be inexcusable, and subjected to condemnation, if they sinned.

It pleased God, also, in process of time, as the

attention of man was led astray by bad customs, by pleasures, by the cares of the world and other causes, that the same Christ, in addition to this his inward striving with him, should afford him outward help, accommodated to his outward senses, by which his thoughts might be oftener turned towards God, and his soul be the better preserved in the way of salvation. Christ, accordingly, through Moses and the prophets, became the author of a dispensation to the Jews, that is, of their laws, types, and customs, of their prophecies, and of their scriptures.

But, as in the education of man, things must be gradually unfolded, so it pleased God, in the scheme of his redemption, that the same Christ, in fullness of time, should take flesh, and become personally upon earth, the author of another, but of a more pure and glorious dispensation than the former, which was to be more extensive also, and which was not to be confined to the Jews, but to extend in time, to the uttermost corners of the earth. Christ, therefore, became the author of the inspired delivery of the outward scriptures of the New Testament. By these, as by outward and secondary means, he acted upon men's senses. He informed them of their corrupt nature, of their awful and perilous situation, of another life, of a day of judgment, of rewards and punishments. These

scriptures, therefore, of which Christ was the author, were outward instruments at the time, and continue so to posterity, to second his inward aid. That is, they produce thought, give birth to anxiety, excite fear, promote seriousness, turn the eye towards God, and thus prepare the heart for a sense of those inward strivings of Christ, which produce inward redemption from the power of sin.

Where, however, this outward aid of the holy scriptures has not reached, Christ continues to purify and redeem by his inward power. But, as men, who are acted upon solely by his inward strivings, have not the same advantages as those who are also acted upon by his outward Word, so, less is expected in the one, than in the other case. Less is expected from the Gentile than from the Jew, less from the Barbarian than from the Christian.

And this latter doctrine of the universality of the striving of Christ with man, in a spiritually instructive and redemptive capacity, as it is merciful and just, so it is worthy of the wise and beneficent Creator. Christ, in short, has been filling from the foundations of the world, the office of an inward redeemer, and this, without any exception, to all of the human race. And there is even now "No salvation in any other. For, there is no name under heaven, given among men, whereby we must be saved."*

* Acts iv: 12.

From this new statement of the proposition, which statement is consistent with the language of divines, it will appear that, if the Quakers have made everything of the spirit, and but little of Christ, I have made to suit the objectors, everything of Christ, and but little of the spirit. Now, I would ask, where lies the difference between the two statements? Which is the more accurate? or whether, when I say these things were done by the spirit, and when I say that they were done by Christ, I do not state precisely the same proposition, or express the same thing?

That Christ, in all the offices stated by the proposition, is neither more or less than the spirit of God, there can surely be no doubt. In looking at Christ, we are generally apt to view him with carnal eyes. We can seldom divest ourselves of the idea of a body belonging to him, though this was confessedly human, and can seldom consider him as a pure principle or fountain of divine light and life to men. And yet, it is obvious, that we must view him in this light in the present case; for, if he was at the creation of the world, or with Moses at the delivery of the Law, (which the proposition supposes) he could not have been there in his carnal body, because this was not produced until centuries afterwards from the Virgin, Mary. In this abstracted light, the apostles frequently

view Christ themselves. Thus St. Paul: "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me."* And, again: "Know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates."† Now, no person imagines that St. Paul had any idea, that the body of Christ was either in himself, or in others, on the occasion on which he had thus spoken.

That Christ, as he held the offices contained in the proposition, was the spirit of God, we may pronounce from various views, which we may take of him, all of which seem to lead us to the same conclusion.

And first, let us look at Christ in the scriptural light, in which he has been held forth to us in the fourth section of the seventh chapter, where I have explained the particular notions of the Quakers relative to the new birth. God may be considered here as having produced, by means of his holy spirit, a birth of divine life in the soul of "the body which has been prepared," and this birth was Christ. "But, that which is born of the spirit," says St. John, "is spirit."‡ The only question, then, will be as to the magnitude of the spirit thus produced. In answer to this, St. John says, "that God gave him not the spirit by measure."§ And St. Paul says the same thing: "For, in him, all the

* Galat. ii: 20. † 2 Cor. xiii: 5. ‡ John iii: 7. § John iii: 34.

fullness of the Godhead dwelt bodily."* Now, we can have no idea of a spirit without measure, or containing the fullness of the Godhead, but the spirit of God.

Let us now look at Christ in another point of view, or as St. Paul seems to have viewed him. He defines Christ to be "The wisdom of God and the power of God."† But what are the wisdom of God and the power of God, but the great characteristics and the great constituent parts of his spirit?

But, if these views of Christ should not be deemed satisfactory, we will contemplate him, as St. John, the evangelist, has held him forth to our notice. Moses says, that the spirit of God created the world. But St. John says, that the Word created it. The spirit, therefore, and the Word must be the same. But this Word, he tells us afterwards, and this, positively, was Jesus Christ.

It appears, therefore, from these observations,‡ that it makes no material difference, whether we use the words "Spirit of God," or "Christ," in

* Coloss. ii: 9. † 1 Cor. 1: 24.

‡ I would not have it understood from this little statement of my own (invented merely to show how nearly Christians may be to each other when they think they differ) that the Quakers always consider Christ and the spirit the same, or the former only as a principle. "There is a difference," says Isaac Pennington, "between the fullness of the light, which enlighteneth, and the measure that is given. The one is Christ himself. The other is his gift."

the proposition that has been before us, or that there will be no difference in the meaning of the proposition either in the one, or the other case; and, also, that if the Quakers only allow, when the spirit took flesh, that the * body was given as a sacrifice for sin, or that part of the redemption of man, as far as his past sins are forgiven, is effected by this sacrifice, there will be little or no difference between the religion of the Quakers and that of the objectors, as far as it relates to Christ.†

* I ought to mention here that the Quakers believe that the atonement involved much greater sufferings than merely the death of the body of Christ. They conceive that the nature of a propitiation for sin, made to an infinitely holy and just God, and the expressions of Christ, "My soul is exceedingly sorrowful even unto death," "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me," point to a much greater sacrifice.

† The Quakers have frequently said in their theological writings, that every man has a portion of the Holy Spirit within him; and this assertion has not been censured. But they have also said that every man has a portion of Christ, or of the light of Christ, within him. Now this assertion has been considered extravagant and wild. The reader will, therefore, see, that if he admits the one, he cannot very consistently censure the other.

CHAPTER X.

SECTION I.

Ministers — The Spirit of God alone can make a minister of the Gospel — Hence no imposition of hands, nor human knowledge, can be effectual — This proposition not peculiarly adopted by George Fox, but by Justin, the Martyr, Luther, Calvin, Wickliff, Tyndal, Milton, and others — Way in which this call by the Spirit qualifies for the ministry — Women equally qualified with men.

HAVING now detailed fully the operations of the Spirit of God, as far as the Quakers believe it to be concerned in the instruction and redemption of man, I shall consider its operations, as far as they believe it to be concerned in the services of the church. Upon this spirit they make both their worship and ministry to depend. I shall, therefore, consider these subjects, before I proceed to any new order of tenets, which they may hold.

It is a doctrine of the members of this community, that none can spiritually exercise, and that none ought to be allowed to exercise, the office of ministers, but such as the spirit of God has worked upon and called forth to discharge it; as well as that the same spirit will never fail to raise up persons in succession for this end.

Conformably with this idea, no person, in the opinion of the Society, ought to be designed by his parents in early youth for the priesthood; for,

as the wind bloweth where it listeth, so, no one can say which is the vessel that is to be made to honor.

Conformably with the same idea, no imposition of hands or ordination, can avail anything, in their opinion, in the formation of a minister of the Gospel; for no human power can communicate to the internal man the spiritual gifts of God.

Neither, in conformity with the same idea, can the acquisition of human learning, nor the obtaining of academical degrees and honors, be an essential qualification for this office; for, though the human intellect is so great, that it can dive as it were into the ocean, and discover the laws of fluids, and rise again up to heaven, and measure the celestial motions, yet it is incapable of itself of penetrating into divine things, so as spiritually to know them; while, on the other hand, illiterate men appear often to have more knowledge on these subjects than the most learned. Indeed, the Quakers have no notion of a human qualification for a divine calling. They reject all school divinity, as unnecessarily connected with the ministry. They believe, that if a knowledge of Christianity had been obtainable by the acqusition of the Greek and Roman languages, and through the medium of the Greek and Roman philosophers, the Greeks and Romans themselves had been the best proficients in it; whereas the gospel was only foolishness to many

of these. They say, with St. Paul to the Colossians, "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit after the traditions of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ."* And they say, with the same apostle to Timothy, "O, Timothy! keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science, falsely so called, which some professing, have erred concerning the faith."†

This notion of the Quakers, that human learning and academical honors are not necessary for the priesthood, is very ancient. Though George Fox introduced it into his new Society, and this without any previous reading upon the subject, yet it had existed long before his time. In short, it was connected with the tenet, early disseminated in the church, that no person could know spiritual things but through the medium of the spirit of God; from whence it was not difficult to pass to the doctrine, that none could teach spiritually, unless they had been taught spiritually themselves. Hence we find Justin, the martyr, a Platonic philospher, but who was afterwards one of the earliest Christian writers after the apostles, and other learned men after him, down to Chrysostom, laying aside their learning and their philosophy for the school of Christ. The

* Coloss. ii: 8. † 1 Tim. vi: 20, 21.

first authors, also, of the Reformation contended for this doctrine. Luther and Calvin, both of them supported it. Wickliff, the first reformer of the English church, and Tyndal, the martyr, the first translator of the Bible into the English language, supported it, also. In 1652, Sydrach Simpson, master of Pembroke Hall, in Cambridge, preached a sermon before the university, contending that the universities corresponded to the schools of the prophets, and that human learning was an essential qualification for the priesthood. This sermon, however, was answered by William Dell, master of Caius College, in the same university; in which he stated, after having argued the points in question, that the universities did not correspond to the schools of the prophets, but to those of heathen men; that Plato, Aristotle and Pythagoras, were more honored there, than Moses or Christ; that grammar, rhetoric, logic, ethics, physics, metaphysics and the mathematics, were not the instruments to be used in the promotion or defence of the Gospel; that Christian schools had originally brought men from heathenism to Christianity, but that the university schools were likely to carry men from Christianity to heathenism again. This language of William Dell was, indeed, the general language of the divines and pious men of those times in which George Fox lived, though unquestionably

the opposite doctrine had been started, and had been received by many. Thus, the great John Milton, who lived in these very times, may be cited, as speaking in a similar manner with Dell on the same subject: "Next," says he, "it is a fond error, though too much believed among us, to think that the university makes a minister of the Gospel. What it may conduce to other arts and sciences, I dispute not now. But that which makes fit a minister, the scripture can best inform us to be only from above, whence, also, we are bid to seek them. Thus St. Matthew says: 'Pray ye, therefore, the Lord of the harvest, that he will send laborers forth unto his harvest.'* Thus St. Luke: 'The flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseer.'† Thus St. Paul: 'How shall they preach, unless they be sent?'‡ But by whom sent? By the university, or by the magistrate? No, surely. But sent by God, and by him only."

The Quakers, then, rejecting school divinity, continue to think with Justin, Luther, Dell, Milton, and, indeed, with those of the church of England, and others, that those only can be proper ministers of the church, who have witnessed within themselves a call from the spirit of God. If men would teach religion, they must, in the opinion of the Society, be first taught of God. They must go

* Matt. ix: 38. † Acts xx: 28. ‡ Rom. x: 15.

first to the school of Christ; must come under his discipline in their hearts; must mortify the deeds of the body; must crucify the flesh, with the affections and lusts thereof; must put off the old man, which is corrupt; must put on the new man, "Which, after God, is created in righteousness and true holiness;" must be, in fact, "Ministers of the sanctuary and true tabernacle, which the Lord hath pitched, and not man." And whether those, who come forward as ministers, are really acted upon by this spirit, or by their own imaginations only, so that they mistake the one for the other, the Quakers consider it to be essentially necessary, that they should experience, what they suppose to be such a call, in their own feelings; and that purification of heart, which they can only judge of by their outward lives, should be perceived by themselves, before they presume to enter upon such an office.

They believe that men qualified in this manner are really fit for the ministry, and are likely to be useful instruments in it. For, first, it becomes men to be changed themselves, before they can change others. Those, again, who have been thus changed, have the advantage of being able to state, from living experience, what God has done for them; "What they have seen with their eyes, what they have looked upon, and what their hands have han-

dled of the Word of life."* Men, also, who, by means of God's holy spirit, have escaped the pollutions of the world, are in a fit state to understand the mysteries of God, and to carry with them the seal of their own commission. Thus, men under sin can never discern spiritual things. But "To the disciples of Christ," and to the doers of his will, "It is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom heaven." Thus, when the Jews marvelled at Christ, saying, "How knoweth this man letters (or the scriptures), having never learned?"† Jesus answered them, and said, "My doctrine is not mine, but his who sent me. If any man will do his will he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself." Such ministers, also, are considered as better qualified to reach the inward states of the people, and to "Preach liberty to the captives" of sin, than those, who have merely the advantage of school divinity, or of academical learning. It is believed, also, of these, that they are capable of giving more solid and lasting instruction, when they deliver themselves at large; for those will preach rather from intellectual abilities, and from the suggestions of human learning, than from the spiritual life and power which they find in themselves, may be said to forsake Christ, who is the "Living fountain, and to

* John i: 1. † John vii: 15, 16, 17.

hew out broken cisterns, which hold no water," either for themselves or for others.

This qualification for the ministry being allowed to be the true one, it will follow, the Quakers believe (and it was Luther's belief, also), that women may be equally qualified to become ministers of the Gospel as the men. For they contend that God has given his holy spirit, without exception, to all. They dare not, therefore, limit its operations in the office of the ministry, more than in any other of the sacred offices, which it may hold. They dare not, again, say, that women cannot mortify the deeds of the flesh, or that they cannot be regenerated, and walk in newness of life. If women, therefore, believe they have a call to the ministry, and undergo the purification necessarily connected with it, and preach in consequence, and preach effectively — they dare not, under these circumstances, refuse to accept their preaching, as the fruits of the spirit, merely because it comes through the medium of the female sex.

Against this doctrine of the Society, that a female ministry is allowable under the Gospel dispensation, an objection has been started from the following words from the apostle, Paul: "Let your women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak" * — "And if they will learn

* Cor. xiv: 34, 35.

anything, let them ask their husbands at home." But the Quakers conceive, that this charge of the apostle has no allusion to preaching. In those early times, when the Gospel doctrines were new, and the people were eager to understand them, some of the women, in the warmth of their feelings, interrupted to the service of the church, by asking such questions, as occurred to them on the subject of this new religion. These are they, whom the apostle desires to be silent, and to reserve their questions till they should return home. And that this was the case is evident, they conceive, from the meaning of the words which the apostle uses upon this occasion. For the word in the Greek tongue, which is translated "speak," does not mean to preach or to pray, but to speak as in common discourse. And the words which immediately follow this, do not relate to any evangelical instuction, which these women were desirous of communicating publicly, but which they were desirous of receiving themselves from others.

That the words quoted do not relate to praying or preaching is, also, equally obvious in the opinion of the Quakers; for, if they had related to these offices of the church, the word "prophesy" had been used instead of the word "speak." Add to which, that the apostle, in the same epistle in which the preaching of women is supposed to be

forbidden, gives them a rule to which he expects them to conform, when they either prophesy or pray. But to give women a rule to be observed during their preaching, and to forbid them to preach at the same time, is an absurdity to great to be fixed upon the most ordinary person, and much more upon an inspired apostle.

That the objection has no foundation, the Society believe, again, from the consideration, that the ministry of women, in the days of the apostles, is recognized in the New Testament, and is recognized, also, in some instances, as an acceptable service.

Of the hundred and twenty persons who were assembled on the day of Pentecost, it is said by St. Luke, that some were women.† That these received the holy spirit as well as the men; and that they received it, also, for the purpose of prophesying or preaching, is obvious from the same evangelist: for, first, he says that "All were filled with the holy ghost." And, secondly, he says that Peter stood up, and observed concerning the circumstance of inspiration having been given to the women on this occasion, that Joel's prophecy was then fulfilled, in which were to be found these words: "And it shall come to pass in the last days, that your sons and your daughters shall prophesy — and on my servants and handmaidens I will pour

† Acts, chap. i.

out in those days of my spirit, and they shall prophesy."

That women preached afterwards, or in times subsequent to the day of Pentecost, they collect from the same evangelist. For he mentions Philip,* who had four daughters, all of whom prophesied at Cæsarea. Now, by prophesying, if we accept St. Paul's interpretation of it,† is meant a speaking to edification, and exhortation, and comfort, under the influence of the holy spirit. It was, also, a speaking to the church. It was, also, the speaking of one person to the church, while the others remained silent.

That women, also, preached or prophesied in the church of Corinth, the Quakers show from the testimony of St. Paul; for he states the manner in which they did it, or that they prayed or prophesied with their heads uncovered.‡

That women, also, were ministers of the Gospel in other places, and that they were highly serviceable to the church, St. Paul confesses, with great satisfaction, in his epistle to the Romans, in which he sends his salutation to different persons, for whom he professed an affection or an esteem.—Thus: "I commend unto you Phœbe, our sister, who is a servant of the church, which is at Cenchrea." § Upon this passage the Quakers usually

* Acts, xxi: 9. † 1 Cor. xiv. ‡ 1 Cor. xi: 5. § Romans xiv: 1.

make two observations. The first is, that the Greek word, which is translated "servant," should have been rendered "minister." It is translated "minister," when applied by St. Paul to Timothy, to denote this office.* It is, also, translated "minister" when applied to St. Paul and Apollos.†— And there is no reason why a change should have been made in its meaning in the present case. The second is, that history has handed down Phœbe as a woman eminent for her Gospel labors. "She was celebrated," says Theodoret, "throughout the world; for she was known not only to the Greeks and the Romans, but to the Barbarians likewise."‡

St. Paul, also, greets Priscilla and Aquila. He greets them under the title of fellow helpers or fellow laborers in Jesus Christ. But this is the same title, which he bestows upon Timothy, to denote his usefulness in the church. Add to which, that Priscilla and Aquila were the persons, of whom St. Luke says, that they assisted Apollos "In expounding to him the way of God more perfectly."§

In the same epistle, he recognizes, also, other women, as having been useful to him in Gospel labors. Thus: "Salute Tryphena, and Tryphosa,

* 1 Thess. iii: 2. † 1 Cor. iii: 5. § Acts xviii: 24, 26.
‡ In universa terra celebris facta est; nec eam soli Romani, &c.

who labor in the Lord. Salute the beloved Persis, who labored much in the Lord."

From these, and from other observations which might be made upon this subject, the Society are of opinion that the ministry of the women was as acceptable, in the time of the apostles, as the ministry of the men. And, as there is no prohibition against the preaching of women in the New Testament, they see no reason why they should not be equally admissible, and equally useful as ministers, at the present day.

SECTION II.

Way in which Quakers are admitted into the ministry — When acknowledged they preach to their different congregations or meetings — they visit occasionally, the different families in their own counties or quarterly meetings — Manner of these family visits — sometimes travel as ministers through particular counties, or the kingdom at large — sometimes into foreign parts — Women share in these labors — Expense of voyages on such occasions defrayed out of the national stock.

The way in which Quakers, whether men or women, who conceive themselves to be called to the office of the ministry, are admitted into it, so as to be acknowledged by the Society to be ministers of its church, is simply as follows:

Any member has a right to rise up in the meetings for worship, and to speak publicly. If any one, therefore, should rise up and preach, who has never done so before, he is heard. The congregation are all witnesses of his doctrine. The elders,

however, who may be present, and to whose province it more immediately belongs to judge of the fitness of ministers, observe the tenor of his discourse. They watch over it for its authority; that is, they judge by its spiritual influence on the mind, whether it be such as corresponds with that, which may be presumed to come from the spirit of God. If the new preacher delivers any thing that appears exceptionable, or preaches without spiritual authority, and continues to do so, it is the duty of the elders to speak to him in private, and to desire him to discontinue his services to the church. But if nothing exceptionable occurs, nothing is said to him, except by the same elders, who may encourage him, and he is allowed to deliver himself publicly at future meetings. In process of time, if, after repeated attempts in the office of the ministry, the new preacher has given satisfactory proof of his gift, he is reported to the monthly meeting, to which he belongs. And this meeting, if satisfied with his ministry, acknowledges him as a minister, and then recommends him to the meeting of ministers and elders belonging to the same. No other act than this is requisite. He receives no verbal or written appointment, or power, for the execution of the sacerdotal office. It may be observed, also, that he neither gains any authority, nor loses any privilege, by thus becoming a minister of the

Gospel. Except while in the immediate exercise of his calling, he is only a common member. He receives no elevation by the assumption of any nominal title to distinguish him from the rest. Nor is he elevated by the prospect of any increase to his worldly goods in consequence of his new office, for no minister in this Society receives any pecuniary emolument for his spiritual labors.

When ministers are thus approved and acknowledged, they exercise the sacred office in public assemblies, as they immediately feel themselves influenced to that work.

They may engage, also, with the approbation of their own monthly meetings, in the work of visiting such families as reside in the county or quarterly meeting, to which they belong. In this case they are sometimes accompanied by one of the elders of the church. These visits have the name of family visits, and are conducted in the following manner:

When a minister, after having commenced his journey, has entered the house of the first family, the individual members are collected to receive him. They then sit in silence for a time. As he believes himself concerned to speak, he delivers that, which arises in his mind, with religious freedom. The master, the wife, and the other branches of the family are sometimes severally addressed. Does

the minister feel that there is a departure in any of the persons present from the principles or practice of the Society, he speaks, if he believes it required of him, to these points. Is there any well-disposed person under inward discouragement, this person may be addressed in the language of consolation. All, in fact, are exhorted and advised as their several circumstances may seem to require. When the religious visit is over, the minister, if there is occasion, takes some little refreshment with the family, and converses with them; but no light or trifling subject is ever entered upon, on these occasions. From one family he passes on to another, till he has visited all the families in the district, for which he had felt a concern.

Though Quaker ministers frequently confine their spiritual labors to the county or quarterly meeting, in which they reside, yet some of them feel an engagement to go beyond these boundaries, and to visit the Society in particular counties, or in the kingdom at large. Those, who feel a concern of this kind, must lay it before their own monthly meetings. These meetings, if they feel it right to countenance the concern, grant them certificates for the purpose. These certificates are necessary: first, because ministers might not be personally known as ministers out of their own district, and, secondly, because Quakers, who were not ministers,

and other persons, who might counterfeit the dress of Quakers, might otherwise impose upon the Society as they travelled along.

Such as thus travel in the work of the ministry, or Public Friends, as they are called, seldom or never go to an inn at any town or village where members live. They go to the houses of the latter. While at these, they attend the weekly, monthly, and quarterly meetings of the district, as they happen on their route. They call, also, extraordinary meetings of worship. At these houses they are visited by many of the members of the place and neighborhood, who call upon and converse with them. During these times, they appear to have their minds bent on the object of their mission, so that it would be difficult to divert their attention from the work in hand. When they have staid a sufficient time at a town or village, they depart. One or more guides are appointed by the particular meeting, belonging to it, to show them the way to the next place where they purpose to labor, and to convey them free of expense, and to conduct them to the house of some member there. From this house, when their work is finished, they are conveyed and conducted by new guides to another, and so on, till they return to their respective homes.

But the religious views of the ministers are not always confined even within the boundaries of the

kingdom. Many of them believe it to be their duty to travel into foreign parts. These, as their journey is now extensive, must lay their concern not only before their own monthly meeting, but before their own quarterly meeting, and before the meeting of ministers and elders in London, also. On receiving their certificates they depart. Some of them visit the continent of Europe, but most of them the churches in America, where they diligently labor in the vineyard, probably for a year or two, at a distance from their families and friends. And here it may be observed that, while ministers from England are thus visiting America on a religious errand, ministers from America, impelled by the same influence, are engaging in apostolical missions to England. These foreign visits, on both sides, are not undertaken by such ministers only as are men. Women engage in them, also. They cross the Atlantic, and labor in the vineyard in the same manner. It may be mentioned here, that though it is a principle in the society, that no minister of the Gospel ought to be paid for his religious labors, yet the expense of the voyages, on such occasions, is allowed to be defrayed out of the fund, which is denominated by the Quakers, their "National Stock."

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